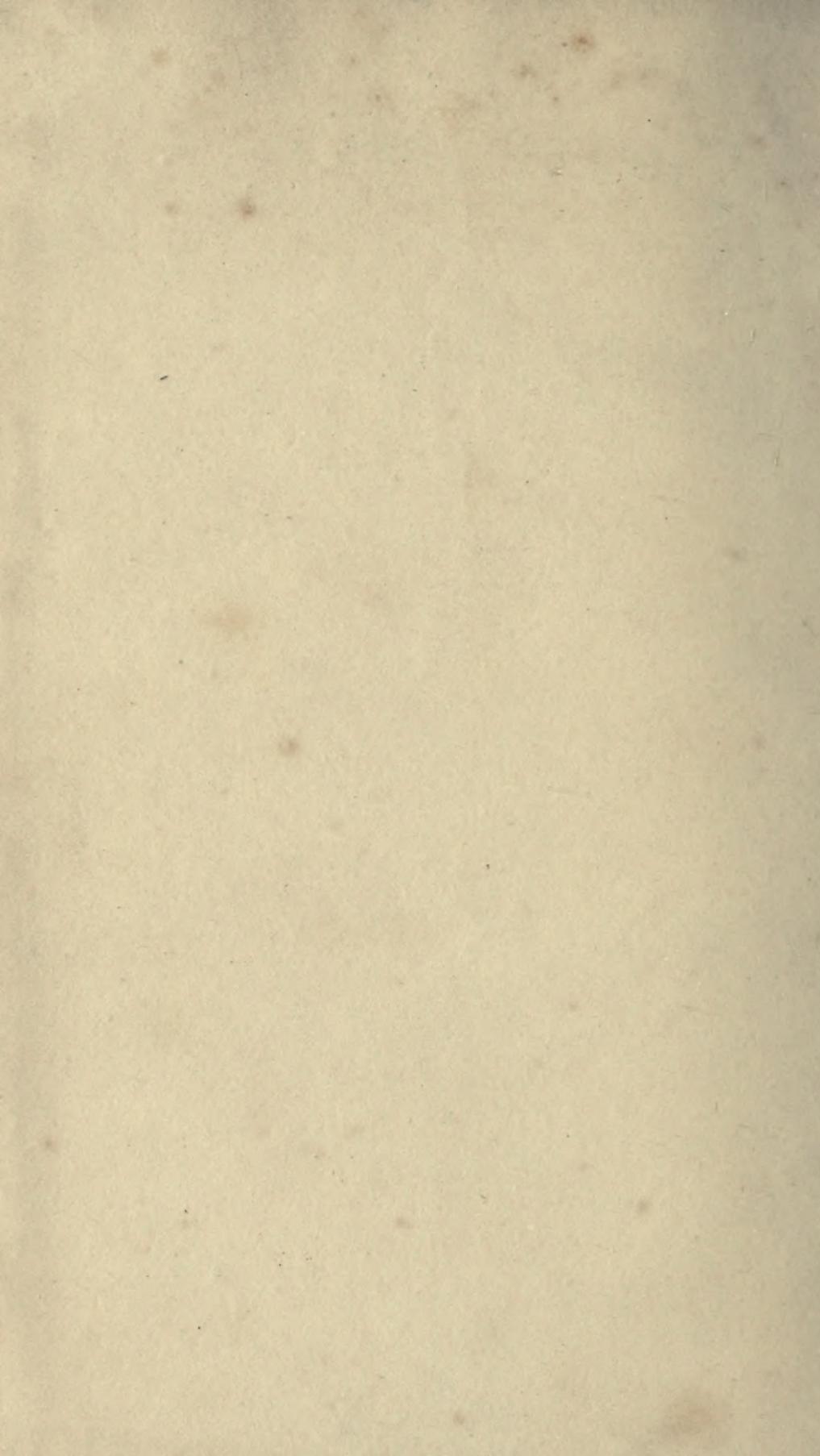
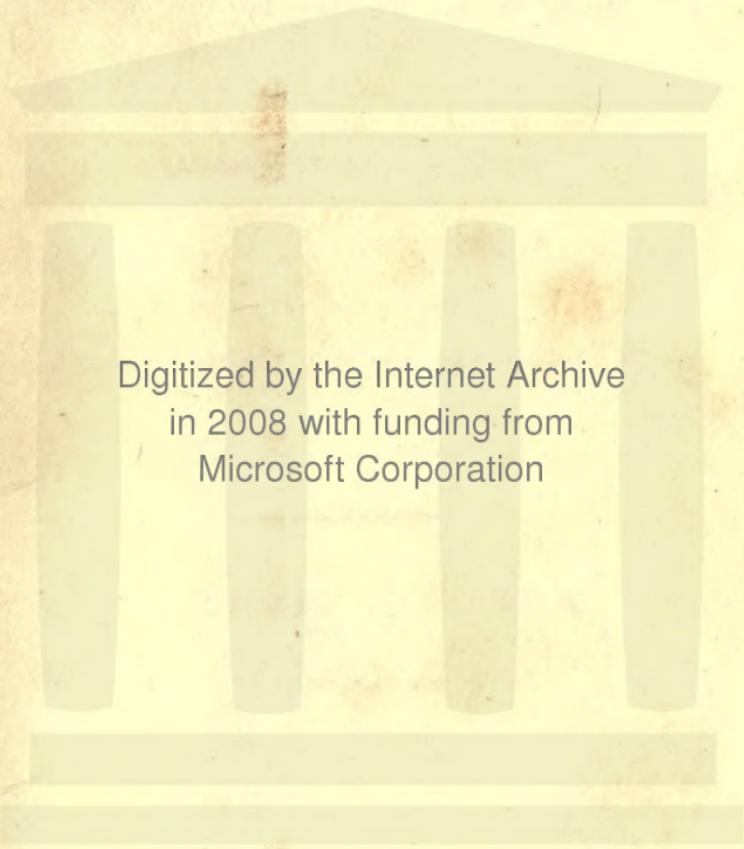




3 1761 04720962 2





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

LL
G386
E6

THE
ATTIC NIGHTS
OF
AULUS GELLIUS:

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,
BY THE REV. W. BELOË, F.S.A.

TRANSLATOR OF HERODOTUS, &c.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

250 16
23/6/93

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

M D C C X C V.

1993-1994 400-500 1000-1200 2000-2200

THE
ATTIC NIGHTS
OF
AULUS GELLIUS.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

The reply of Chrysippus to those who denied a Providence.

THEY who think that the world was not produced on account of the Deity and of man, and deny that human affairs are governed by Providence, think

* The beginning of this chapter was wanting in all the editions with which I am acquainted; but I have restored it from Lactantius's Epitome of his Divine Institutions, Chap. 29. It is a whimsical circumstance enough, that the greater part of this very Epitome should have lain hid till the present century. St. Jerome, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, speaking of Lactantius, says, "Habemus ejus Institutionum Divinarum adversus gentes libros septem et Epitome

2 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

think that they urge a powerful argument when they assert, that if there were a Providence there would be no evils. For nothing, they affirm, can be less consistent with a Providence, than that in that world, on account of which the Deity is said to have created man, there should exist so great a number of calamities and evils. Chrysippus, in his fourth

tomus ejusdem operis in libro uno *ακεφάλων* *." Lactantius flourished in the fourth century; before the end of which St. Jerome wrote his Catalogue. But in the year 1712, Professor Pfaffius found a MS. at Turin, that had been complete, but by accident had since lost five chapters. To this edition our readers are indebted for the supplement; in consideration of which they are requested favourably to receive, or at least to pardon this little digression.

In some manuscripts we are given to understand, that this book was placed after the seventh.—This can be of no importance.—Many and perplexing are the disputes concerning Fate and Providence, among the ancient philosophers; each, perhaps, containing something to admire and approve, but resembling an unpolished gem, enveloped by extraneous matter, which obscured and defaced its beauty. The opinions of these sects will be found accurately detailed in Enfield's History of Philosophy.—On these subjects, ingenious and pleasing as the investigation of them may be, our best knowledge is the knowledge of ourselves, and our truest virtue resignation to the order of Providence.

Hope humbly, then—with trembling pinions soar,
Wait the great teacher Death, and God adore !

In pride, in reasoning pride, our error lies,
All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies.

* The common reading is *ακεφάλων*, but a Paris MS. 900 years old gives the reading which I have quoted.

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 3

book concerning Providence, disputing against these, observes that nothing can be more absurd or foolish than their opinion, who think that there can be good, without the existence of evil. For as good is contrary to evil, and it is necessary that both should exist, opposite to each other, and as it were dependent upon mutual and opposite exertions, so there can be no opposing thing exist, without its particular opposite. For how could there be a sense of justice, if there were no injustice? or what indeed is justice, but the absence of injustice? In like manner what can we imagine of fortitude, but as opposed to pusillanimity? What of temperance, but from intemperance? What would prudence be, but for its opposite imprudence? Why also should unwise men not require this, that there should exist truth, and not falsehood? In like manner exist good and evil, happiness and misery, pain and pleasure. Each, as Plato remarks, is confined to the other by contrary and opposing vortices², so that if you remove one you take away the other. This Chrysippus in the same book

² *Vortices.*]—This doctrine is the distinction of the Cartesian philosophy, where it was applied to explain the phænomena of the heavenly bodies. That it is inadequate to this, is what admits of mathematical proof. These vortices exist in imagination only; the principle which actually and satisfactorily explains these phænomena is known to have existence in nature, and that is gravity. Notes on the subject of this chapter might be extended to an infinite length;

4 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

book examines, investigates, and thinks it an important subject of enquiry, whether the imperfections of men are according to nature; that is, whether the same nature and Providence which formed this universe and the race of men, created also the defects and disorders to which men are subject. He thinks that it was not the first design of Providence to make men obnoxious to disorders, for this never could be consistent with the Author of nature, and the Creator of all good things. But as, he continues, he produced and formed many and great things, most convenient and useful, there are other kindred inconveniences, adhering to the things which he created. These he says were not produced by nature, but by certain necessary consequences, which he denominates *κατα παρακολεύσθησιν*.—Thus he remarks, when nature creates the bodies of men, a more subtle cause, and the very usefulness of his work, required that the head should be composed of certain very minute and very delicate bones; but another external inconvenience attached to this usefulness in somewhat of more importance, that the head was less substantially defended, and was liable to be broken by blows and flight resistances.—In like manner disorders and sickness are obtained whilst health is produced. And thus it is, he remarked, that when, by the

and I should certainly have indulged myself with some greater latitude, did I not fear to exceed the limits prescribed me.

purpose

purpose of nature; virtue is created for man, defects are also at the same time produced by a contrary affinity.

C H A P. II.¹

How the same person proved the power and necessity of Fate, and yet that we possessed a free will and free agency.

CHRYSIPPUS, the prince of the Stoicks, defines Fate, which the Greeks call πεπρωμένη or ειμαρμένη, nearly in this manner: Fate, says he, is a certain immutable and eternal

All the ancient philosophers held different opinions with respect to fate or necessity; which opinions are too well known to be recapitulated here.—The definition of fate here given by Chrysippus, is thus alluded to by Virgil, *Æn.* iii. ver. 374.

Nam te majoribus ire per altum
Auspiciis, manifesta fides; sic fata deum rex
Sortitur, solvitque vices: is vertitur ordo.

Many elegant and pertinent illustrations of the subjects here discussed might be introduced from Pope's *Essay on Man*; but as there is every where such a general similiarity, selection becomes difficult, and it seems better to refer the reader generally to that poem; to the critical and philo-

6 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

series and chain of things, moving and inter-weaving itself in a fixed and established order of events, with which it is fitted and connected. The very words of Chrysippus I have subjoined, as well as my memory would suffer me, that if any one shall think this my interpretation obscure, he may refer to the words themselves. In his fourth book on Providence he says, that Fate is a physical harmony of all things from eternity, each following the other, and that this combination still necessarily and invariably exists. The asserters of other systems and opinions object to this definition, thus: If Chrysippus, say they, thinks that all things are influenced and governed by Fate, and that the action and order of Fate cannot be affected or changed, the faults and errors of men ought not to be censured, nor imputed to them or their inclinations, but to a certain urgency and necessity which arises from Fate, which is the mistress and arbitress of all things, from whose agency whatever happens must of necessity happen. That therefore the punishment of crimes is unjustly appointed by the laws, if men

phical Commentary upon it, published by Dr. Warburton; as well as to Enfield's History of Philosophy.

The subject will, I think, allow me somewhat to enliven the chapter, by relating an anecdote of Zeno: He detected his slave in some act of theft, and ordered him to be flogged.—The fellow having in mind the dogmas of his master, exclaimed, It was fated that I should commit this theft.—And that you should be flogged, replied Zeno.

do

do not voluntarily commit, but are impelled to them by Fate. Against such opinions Chrysippus argues with great subtlety and acuteness. But the substance of all that he has replied on this subject is nearly this: Although it be so, says he, that all things are necessarily connected and compelled by Fate, yet the powers of our minds are no farther subject to this Fate, than as they have certain properties and qualities. If they are originally by nature formed well and usefully, they transmit easily, and without injury, all the power which they externally derive from Fate. But if they be rough, and ignorant, and rude, supported by the props of no good arts, although impressed by little or no inconvenience of fatality, yet they are precipitated into frequent errors and disorders, by their own voluntary unamiableness and impetuosity. And that this should so happen is effected by that natural and necessary consequence of things, which is called Fate. For it seems to be a fatality and consequence in the order of things that vicious minds should not be free from faults and errors. He gives an example of this, which seems equally pertinent and facetious. If, says he, you throw a cylindrical stone down a steep and inclined plane of the earth, you are the first cause and origin of its descent, but it is soon hurried on with increasing velocity, not because you do this, but because the nature of its rotatory form effects this. Thus the order, and reason, and necessity of Fate

3 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

influences the general principles of causes, but it is the peculiar will of each individual, and the constitution of our minds, which regulates the force of our mental propensities, and our consequent actions.

He then adds these words, agreeing with what I have said:

“Therefore it is thus said by the Pythagoreans: Know that men’s sufferings are occasioned by themselves. As then each man’s defects are occasioned by himself, and all sin and offend from their own propensities, they are injured by their own free will and design.”

For this reason he says men who are base, audacious, and profligate, are not to be regarded or endured, who being convicted of turpitude and crime, fly to the necessity of Fate, as to the asylum of some temple, and affirm of their own enormous vices, that they are not to be imputed to their own passions, but to Fate. Homer, the most wise and most ancient of poets, has thus expressed himself;

Perverse mankind, whose wills, created free,
Charge all their woes on absolute decree;
All to the dooming gods their guilt translate,
And foiliies are miscall’d the crimes of Fate.

So also M. Cicero, in the book which he wrote on Fate, having said that this question was most obscure and full of perplexity, affirms in these words

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 9

words that Chrysippus the philosopher had not resolved it:

“ Chrysippus, labouring and toiling to explain that all things happen by a fatality, and that this influences us, perplexes himself in this manner.”

C H A P. III.

Story from Tubero of a serpent of unusual size.

TUBERO has written in his history, that in the first Punic War, Attilius Regulus the consul, being encamped in Africa, near the river Bagrada¹, had a great and severe engagement with a single serpent of extraordinary fierceness, whose den

¹ *Bagrada.*]—There were several rivers called by this name.—The one here alluded to was in the vicinity of Utica. By Lucan and Silius Italicus, it is called the slow Bagrada.—This particular serpent is also mentioned by Livy, Pliny, and Valerius Maximus. That there are enormous serpents in Africa will admit of no doubt, but I believe still larger are met with in the interior parts of India; I have somewhere read of travellers mistaking them, by their extraordinary magnitude, and when asleep, for the trunks of trees. It is asserted in the Philosophical Transactions, that in the kingdom of Congo serpents have been found twenty-five feet in length, which will swallow a sheep whole. Travellers also relate, that in the Brazils, serpents have been found forty feet long.

was

20 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

was on that spot. That he sustained the attack of the whole army, and was a long time opposed with the *ballistæ* and *catapultæ*²; and that being killed, his skin, which was one hundred and twenty feet long, was sent to Rome.

² *Ballistæ* and *catapultæ*.]—These were military engines, from which stones were projected. Modern writers generally express *ballistæ* with a single *l*; but this is doubtless an error, as it is derived from the Greek word *βαλλω*, *jacio*, to cast; or not improbably from *βαλλιζω*: concerning which word, see *Athenæus*, Book 8. c. 17. The English reader will hardly believe the fact recorded in this chapter; but it has nevertheless exercised the acuteness and sagacity of many critics and learned men. Dr. Shaw mentions it in his travels, and thinks it was a crocodile; but who ever heard of a crocodile one hundred and twenty feet long?—Mr. Daines Barrington disbelieves it altogether, calling it an absurd incredible circumstance; to which opinion many will without reluctance accede.

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 11

CHAP. IV.

The same Tubero's relation of the captivity of Regulus¹—Account given by Tuditanus of the same Regulus.

WHAT is sufficiently notorious of Attilius Regulus, I have very lately read in the books of Tuditanus: That Regulus, being a captive, in addition to what he said in the senate at Rome, persuading them not to exchange prisoners with the Carthaginians, declared this also, that the Carthaginians had given him poison not of immediate effect², but of such

* The story of Regulus, with its various circumstances, as related by different historians, must be too well known to justify my introduction of it more circumstantially here.

² *Not of immediate effect.]*—It has from very remote periods been told of the people of India and Africa, that they are so well acquainted with the nature of poisons, as to be able to procure death to any one at a longer or shorter period of time. Mead is of opinion, that this must be from the fruits or inspissated juices of corrosive plants, which by producing ulcers in the bowels, may cause death to be slow and lingering. That this idea of slow poisons was familiar in the time of Shakespeare, appears from this passage in the *Tempest*:

Their great guilt,
Like poison given to work a great time after,
Now 'gins to bite the spirits.

kind

12 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

kind as to protract his death to a distant period; intending him to live till the exchange should take place, and that afterwards, by the gradual operation of the poison, his vital powers might be exhausted. Tubero in his history relates of the same Regulus, that he returned to Carthage, and that he was tortured by the Carthaginians in a new and extraordinary manner. "They confined him," says he, "in a dark and deep dungeon, and some time afterwards, when the sun was in its meridian height, they suddenly brought him out, exposed him to the adverse strokes of the sun, and compelled him to fix his eyes on the firmament. They moved also his eyelids up and down, that he might not be able to sleep."

But Tuditanus relates that he was long prevented from sleeping, and so deprived of life; and that when this was known at Rome, the most noble of the Carthaginian prisoners were given up by the senate to the children of Regulus, who confining them in an engine full of iron spikes, there suffered them to expire in torture, and from a similar want of sleep.

C H A P. V.

*Mistake of Alfenus¹ the lawyer, in the interpretation
of some old words.*

ALFENUS the lawyer, a follower of Servius Sulpicius, an attentive observer of antiquities, in his thirty-fourth book of Digests, and second of Conjectures, says, in the treaty which was made betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians, it is written, that the latter were every year to pay the Romans a certain weight of silver, *puri puti*; and it was enquired what was meant by silver *purum putum*: I replied, said he, that *purum putum* meant very pure, as we say *novum novicium*, and *proprium propicium*, as if willing to extend and amplify the signification of *novum* and *proprium*. On reading this, I was surprized that Alfenus should think there was the same affinity betwixt *purum* and *putum*, as betwixt *novum* and *novicium*. If indeed it had been *puri-
cium*, then it might have seemed to have been used like *novicium*. But this is wonderful, that he should think *novicium* said by way of amplifi-

¹ Alfenus is often quoted as of great authority on questions relating to civil law. He wrote forty books of Digests.

14 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

cation, when *novicium* is used not as *more new*, but because it is said and derived from *novum*, new. I agree therefore with those who think that *putum* is said à *putando*; for which reason they pronounce the first syllable short and not long, as Alfenus seems to have thought, who has considered this as derived from *purum*. The ancients applied *putare* to the taking away and cutting off from any thing what was redundant², or unnecessary, or in the way, and the leaving what was useful and without defect. Thus trees and vines, and also arguments, are said *putari*. As to the word *puto*, which I have used by way of explaining my opinion, it means nothing else, than that in a dubious and perplexing matter, cutting off and amputating the false opinions, we retain that which seems to be true, entire, and perfect. The silver therefore in the Carthaginian treaty was said to be *putum*; that is, all were *ex-putatum*, lopped off, perfectly tried, and free from all foreign substance, and on this account without defect, and entirely pure from every blemish. But the expression *purum putum* does not only occur in the Carthaginian treaty, but as in many other ancient books, so also in a tragedy of En-

² *Redundant.*]—A vine pruner was denominated *putator*; as thus, in Virgil,

Summumque putator,

Haud dubitat terræ referens mandare cacumen.

See also Scaliger on this word.

nius,

nus, which is called Alexander, and in a satire of M. Varro, named, “ Old Men twice young.”

C H A P. VI.

Virgil censured rashly and foolishly by Julius Hyginus, because he called the wings of Dædalus præpetes.—The meaning of aves præpetes explained.—What those birds were which Nigidius calls inferæ.

DÆDALUS ut fama est fugiens Minoïa
regna,
Præpetibus pennis¹ ausus se credere cœlo.

¹ *Præpetibus pennis.*]—With swift wings.

Upon the word *præpes*, the grammarians have perplexed themselves and others, with many subtle and protracted arguments. It is nearly synonymous with *celer* and *velox*; it is so used by Virgil, and by all the writers of best authority.

According to Festus, the verb *præpetere* was anciently used for *ante ire*, to go before.

The birds consulted by the augurs were in this manner distinguished: They who gave omens by flight, were named *præpetes*; they who gave omens by singing, were termed *oscines*. The first were the eagle, vulture, and other birds of that genus; the latter the raven, the crow, the owl, and the cock.

Hyginus

16 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

Hyginus finds fault with these verses from Virgil, that *præpetibus pennis* is used with impropriety and ignorance. For those, says he, are called *præpetes aves* by the augurs, who either take their flight auspiciously, or fix themselves in proper places. He thought therefore that an augural term was not properly used in the flight of Dædalus, which had nothing to do with the ceremonies of the augurs. But Hyginus was exceedingly absurd, when he thought that he knew the meaning of *præpetes*, but that Virgil and Cn. Mattius, a learned man, did not know; who in the seventh book of the Iliad, called Victory swift and *præpes*, in this verse,

Dum det vincenti præpes Victoria palmam.

But why did he not also blame Ennius, who in his Annals does not call the wings of Dædalus *præpetes*, but very differently; thus,

Quid

Brundusium pulchro præcinctum præpete portu?

And if he had considered the nature and power of the word, and not what the augurs had said alone, he would have forgiven poets the use of words not in their own peculiar signification, but with a licence of similitude and metathesis. For, since not only the birds which take their flight auspiciously, but also the proper and fortunate situations which they choose, are termed *præpetes*; he therefore called the wings of Dædalus *præpetes*, because he came from places in which

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 17

which he feared danger, to others which were more secure. For the augurs call also places *præpetes*; and Ennius has said in his first book of Annals;

Præpetibus hilares sese pulchrisque locis dant.

But Nigidius Figulus, in his first book of Private Augury, says, that in opposition to the *aves* *præpetes* are the *aves inferæ*; as thus, “ The right differs from the left, the *præpes* from the *infera*.” From which we may conjecture, that they were called *præpetes* from flying to a greater height; since Nigidius says, the *inferæ* differ from the *præpetes*. When I was a young man at Rome, at a time when I attended the grammarians, I heard Apollinaris Sulpicius, whom I more particularly preferred, when there was an enquiry concerning the office of augur, and mention was made of the *aves præpetes*, say to Enucius Clarus, the *præfect* of the city, that the birds named *præpetes* seemed to him to be the same with those which Homer named *τανυπτερυγας*; since the augurs particularly regarded those which took their flight with broad and outstretched wings. He then repeated from Homer these lines:

But you order me to obey the birds with outstretched wings,

Which I mind not nor regard;

C H A P. VII.

*Of Acca Larentia and Caia Tarratia. The origin
of the priesthood of the Fratres Arvales.*

THE names of Acca Larentia and Caia Tarratia, or as she is sometimes called Fufetia, are famous in ancient annals. To the one, after her death, but to the other whilst alive, the most distinguished honours were paid by the Roman people. The Horatian law proves that Tarratia was a Vestal virgin, which law was enacted on her account; and by it the greatest honours were paid her, among which, the power of giving her testimony was allowed her, she being the only woman permitted to be *testabilis*. This word occurs in the Horatian law. In the twelve tables we find *intestabilis. IMPROBUS, INTES- TABILIS, ESTO*¹. Moreover, if at the age of forty

¹ *Intestabilis.*] Thus Horace says, as of a profligate and detestable character:

Is *intestabilis et sacer esto.*

Arnobius, in his tract *Adversus Gentes*, remarks, that cities of the greatest splendour and power were not ashamed to pay divine honours to prostitutes.

“ *In civitatibus maximis atque in potentioribus populis
sacra publice sunt scortis meritorii quondam, atque in vul-
garem*

forty² she thought proper to leave the priesthood and marry, she had the privilege given her of unhallowing herself and taking a husband, on account of her generous munificence, she having given the Campus Tiberinus, or Martius, to the Roman people. But Acca Larentia was a public prostitute, by which means she obtained a large sum of money. This woman by her will, as it appears in the History of Antias, made, as

garem libidinem prostitutis, nullus tremor indignationis in diis est." See on this subject also Lactantius, Macrobius, and Plutarch's Roman Questions. By Plutarch, the story, which is not a very delicate one, is related at length.

The courtesan Leæna was also reverenced with divine honours by the Athenians; and here the lines of Pope present themselves:

"Tis not the vice degrades her to a whore;
Let greatness own her, and she's mean no more.

See also Gibbon's account of Theodora, the wife of the emperor Justinian. The prostitute, who in the presence of innumerable spectators had polluted the theatre of Constantinople, was adored as a queen in the same city, by grave magistrates, orthodox bishops, victorious generals, and captive monarchs. The lines of Pope above quoted are referred by Warburton to this Theodora in particular; but, as Gibbon observes, it must require Warburton's critical telescope to see this.

² *Age of forty.*]—Originally the vow of virginity taken by the Vestals was perpetual. The first ten years they learned the sacred rites; the next ten they practised these; and the last instructed their juniors. It was very seldom that they availed themselves of this permission to marry; if they did, it was thought highly unbecoming. See Dionysius Hælicarnassensis.

26 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

some say, king Romulus, but according to others the Roman people, heirs of her effects. On this account public sacrifice was offered her by the Flamen Quirinalis, and a day of the public festivals was called after her name. But Sabinus Massurius, in his first book of Memorials, following some historians, says that Acca Larentia was the nurse of Romulus. This woman, says he, lost one of twelve male children by death; in his room Romulus gave himself as son to Acca Larentia, calling himself and the other brothers *Fratres Arvales*³. From this time there was a society of *Fratres Arvales*, twelve in number; of which priesthood the distinction is a garland of corn and white fillets.

³ *Fratres Arvales*,] or rather *Fratres Ambarvales*. They offered sacrifice to Ceres and Bacchus, to obtain fertility to their lands.—They were called Ambarvales, because they carried the victim round the fields. See also Pliny, Book 18. c. 2. who relates the same story with his usual gravity.

C H A P. VIII.

Memorable anecdotes of Alexander and Publius Scipio.

APPION, a Greek, who was called Plistonices, was a man of agreeable and prompt elocution. When celebrating the praises of king Alexander, he forbade, says he, the wife of a conquered enemy, who was a woman of extraordinary beauty, to be introduced to his presence¹, that he might not touch her, even with his eyes².

A pleasant

¹ *To his presence.*]—On the contrary, Q. Curtius and Justin both affirm, that the female relations of Darius were all introduced to the presence of Alexander.

² *Might not touch her, even with his eyes.*]—Somewhat similar to this is the expression of Lear in our Shakespeare:

Might I but live to see thee in my touch,
I'd say I'd eyes again.

Plutarch says of Alexander, that on seeing the women of Persia, he said they were *αλυγδονες οματων*, griefs of the eyes. But Herodotus makes the Persians use this expression to Amyntas the Macedonian king. See my note at this passage of the Greek historian. Consult also the life of the emperor Julian, by the Abbé Bleterie, page 405–6. This eccentric character, in his last and fatal expedition against Persia, took some great city by storm. The Persian women have ever been celebrated for their personal charms; and when his officers expressed a wish to present him with some

22 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

A pleasant question may therefore be proposed, Who is to be reckoned the more continent, Publius Africanus the Elder, who having taken Carthage, a considerable city in Spain, restored without violation to her father, a blooming virgin of remarkable beauty, the daughter of a noble Spaniard, who had been taken captive and brought to him; or Alexander³, who refused to see the wife and sister of king Darius, captured in a mighty battle, who had been described to him as very beautiful, and forbade them to be brought to his presence?—But let those expatiate on both these subjects concerning Alexander and Scipio, who have plenty of time, and words and genius for the employment. It will be enough for me

female captives of extraordinary beauty; that he might not yield to a passion which has often triumphed over conquerors, and sometimes over philosophers, he refused to see them.

³ *Or Alexander.*]—Bayle has a great deal to say on this subject, at the articles Abderame and Macedonia. Abderame was a Moorish general, and by chance of war obtained possession of the person of a widow lady of surprising beauty, whom he treated with the greatest delicacy and generosity; an act, says Bayle, which a Saracen writer would have extolled beyond the boasted continence of Alexander and Scipio. I would not diminish the praise due to Alexander's self-denial; but it is related of him, that he was by no means naturally of an amorous constitution.—“ If thou wert pure as snow, thou shalt not 'scape calumny.” Yet of Scipio, Valerius Maximus also relates, that in his early life he was a libertine.—Solutionis vitæ primos adolescentiæ annos egisse fertur.

to relate what is reported by history. It is said of this Scipio, I know not whether truly or otherwise, but it is related, that when a young man he was not immaculate; and it appears that these verses were written by Cn. Nævius the poet against him:

“ He who often carried on great affairs with glory, whose exploits yet live and flourish, who alone is renowned among men, was by his father led away in his shirt from his mistress.”

I believe that these verses induced Valerius Antias to express himself concerning the morality of Scipio, in contradiction to all other writers; and to say, that this captive maid was not restored to her father, as we have said above, but was detained by Scipio, and used by him for his amorous pleasures,

C H A P. IX.¹

A passage from the Annals of L. Piso, interesting in itself and agreeably related.

BECAUSE the thing seemed worthy of being recorded which L. Piso in his third book of Annals affirms, that Cn. Flavius, a curule ædile, and son of Annius, did, and as this is told

* This chapter is of considerable importance, as it throws much light on ancient history. Upon the scribes of the ancients a volume might easily be written; they differed from each other considerably in rank, in the nature of their employments, and their consequent views in the state: generally speaking, they were held in no great estimation.—They might not be admitted into the senate; and yet it appears from this chapter, that they were eligible to high and important offices. Cicero calls them an honourable body of men, in his fifth oration against Verres: “Quæ pars operis aut opportunitatis in scriba est. Ordo est honestus quis negat.” Yet they were often in a servile condition, and generally found among the slaves of the great, distinguished by no particular privileges. Their employment in this situation seems to have been that of librarian or secretary. We learn from the chapter before us, that it was usual for them to appear in public with the instruments of their profession.—Pliny calls his scribe or secretary, notarius: “Notarium voco—abit—rursusque revocatur, rursusque dimittitur.”

When considered in a public capacity, their office seems to have nearly corresponded with that of our notary public.

by Piso with much purity and elegance, I have transcribed the whole of the passage.

“ Cn. Flavius was the son of a freedman, and by profession a scribe. He appeared as a candidate for the curule ædileship at the time of election of ædiles, and was declared curule ædile by his tribe: but the ædile who held the comitia refused to accept him, not thinking it right that he who had been a scribe should be curule ædile. Cn. Flavius, the son of Annus, is said to have thrown away his tablets, and renounced his profession of scribe, and he was elected curule ædile. The same Cn. Flavius, the son of Annus, is said to have made a visit to his colleague when sick; and having entered into the inner apartment, many young noblemen who were sitting there treated him contemptuously. No one chose to rise. At this Cn. Flavius, the son of Annus, smiled: he directed his ivory chair to be brought, and placed it at the entrance, so that none of them could go out; and all of them reluctantly beheld him sitting in his chair of office.”

C H A P. X.

Story of Euclid the Socratic, by whose example the philosopher Taurus used to encourage his pupils to the earnest study of philosophy.

THE philosopher Taurus, a man in my memory of reputation in the Platonic sect, whilst he recommended the study of philosophy by many good and pertinent examples, particularly impressed on the minds of youth what he affirmed to have been frequently done by Euclid the Socratic.

The Athenians, says he, had decreed, that if any citizen of Megara¹ should be found to have set

* *Of Megara.*]—See the Comedy of Errors.

Duke. It hath in solemn synod been decreed,
Both by the Syracusans and ourselves,
To admit no traffic to our adverse towns;
Nay more—
If any born at Ephesus, be seen
At any Syracusan marts or fairs,
Again, if any Syracusan born
Come to the bay of Ephesus, he dies.

Megara separated the territories of Athens from those of Corinth; it was consequently often involved in the hostilities of more powerful neighbours. It was at first governed by kings, but was finally subjected by the Athenians

set his foot in Athens, that man should suffer death; so great a hatred did the Athenians entertain for their neighbours of Megara. Then Euclid, who was from the same place², of Megara, and who before resided at Athens, and was a hearer of Socrates, after this decree had the public sanction, at evening, as soon as it was dark, in a long female garb, and in a cloak of various colours, having his head in a hood, left his house at Megara to visit Socrates at Athens, that at least during some portion of the night he might enjoy his conversation and instruction. Early in the morning, disguised in the same dress, he returned home, the distance being something more than twenty miles. But now, continued he, we see philosophers eagerly running of themselves to the doors of young men who are rich, to give their lessons; there they are obliged to sit, shut up, till their pupils shall have slept off the last night's wine.

to their power. The philosopher Euclid, mentioned in this chapter, founded at Megara a school of philosophy; the principles which he inculcated had a near resemblance to the Platonic discipline. An anecdote of his amiable disposition is recorded by Plutarch: His brother was offended with him, and exclaimed in a passion, "I will die if I have not revenge." "So will I," replied Euclid, "if I do not oblige you to love me again."—He was succeeded in his school by Eubulus of Miletus.

² *From the same place.]*—Qui indidem Megaris, in the original; this is pointed out by Rutgerius as an elegant imitation of Greek expression, of which many examples are found in Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Terence, and others.

C H A P. XI.

Words of Quintus Metellus Numidicus, which it is a pleasure to remember, applicable to dignified stations and propriety of conduct.

SINCE it is unbecoming to contend in re- proaches with very profligate men, and to retaliate ill words upon those who are vulgar and impudent, because you are so long like and equal to them, as you use and listen to their language; as much may be learned from an oration of Q. Metellus Numidicus¹, as from the books and precepts of philosophers. These are the words of Metellus against Cn. Manlius a tribune, by whom he had been insulted and reproached in very abusive terms before the people:

“ And now, Romans, with respect to him, who thinks that he increases his own importance by declaring himself my enemy, but whom I neither receive as a friend nor fear as an enemy, I will not say another word against him. For I think him

¹ *Q. Metellus.*]—This was Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, who is often mentioned by Cicero in terms of the highest respect. He was an excellent magistrate, and a firm patriot. The Manlius whom he in this place so severely reprobates, was a friend to Catiline, for whose service he raised an army,

most unworthy of the praises of good men, neither is he a proper object for the reproaches of the good; for if you name a fellow of this description at a time when you cannot punish him, you treat him rather with honour than contempt."

C H A P. XII.

That neither "*testamentum*," as *Servius Sulpicius* thought, nor "*facellum*," as *Trebatius*, are compounded. The former is derived from "*testatio*," the latter is a diminutive from "*sacrum*."

SERVIUS *Sulpicius* the lawyer, the most learned man of his time, in his second book "*On denouncing Sacred Rites*," asserts that *testamentum*,

¹ *Denouncing Sacred Rites.*]—The heir was obliged to make a declaration before the *comitia curiata*, that he would adopt the sacred rites which followed the inheritance; and this was called, "*detestatio sacrorum*." An inheritance not accompanied by this is called by *Plautus*, "*hæreditas fine sacris*." This expression Thornton properly enough, I suppose from the authority of *Festus*, translates, "An estate without an incumbrance." Particular sacrifices belonged to each Roman family, which necessarily involved a considerable expense.

30 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

testamentum, though I cannot tell why, is a compound word. He says it is compounded of *testatio* and *mens*; what then shall we say of *calceamentum*, or *paludamentum*, or *pavimentum*, or *vestimentum*, and a thousand other words which are in a similar manner extended? Shall we say that all these are compound? A false, but neither an inelegant nor preposterous signification of *mens* (mind) seems here to have intruded itself on Servius, or whoever else first made the assertion.

Indeed a similar and equally pertinent idea occurred to C. Trebatius, in his second book, “Of Religions.” The *facellum* is a small place with an altar, sacred to a deity. He then adds, “I think *facellum* is compounded of the two words *sacer* and *cella*, as *sacra cella*.” Thus Trebatius wrote; but who knows not that *facellum* is a simple word, not compounded of *sacer* and *cella*, but a diminutive of *sacrum*?

An anecdote on this subject is related by Livy, which seems to demand a place here.

The Fabian family were obliged at a certain time to offer sacrifice on the Quirinal hill. When the Gauls were in possession of the whole of Rome except the Capitol, Caius Fabius Dorso, in a sacred vest, and having the sacred utensils in his hand, astonished the enemy by his descending with undaunted intrepidity from the Capitoline hill. Without regarding their voices, gestures, or menaces, he passed through their ranks, and came to the Quirinal mount. There, having with due solemnity offered the sacrifice required, he again returned, and without molestation, to his friends; the Gauls either venerating his piety, or overcome by his audacity.

C H A P. XIII.

Of certain questions discussed by Taurus the philosopher at his table, and called symposiacs¹.

THE following was generally done at Athens by those who were more particularly intimate with the philosopher Taurus. When he invited us to his house, that we might not come, as he said, entirely free and without paying² any thing, we subscribed to the supper not choice bits of food, but some subtle questions. Every one of us therefore went with his mind prepared to propose some question; and when supper ended conversation began. The questions proposed were not severe and profound, but rather calculated to exercise acuteness; being facetious, trifling, and adapted to spirits moderately warmed

¹ *Symposiacs.*]—The literal meaning of this word is drinking together; from whence it came to mean disputationes at table, Plutarch having nine books of Questions so called.—Such also is the work of Athenæus.

² *Without paying.*]—In the original, *asymboli*. Thus, in Terence, *asymbolus ad cœnam venire*, is to come to an entertainment without paying; the word is derived from *α*, *νον*, *συν*, *con*, and *βαλλω*, *jacio*. Anciently at every public entertainment each guest contributed his proportion, which was called his *συμβολη*, or symbol. The word, as now used in our language, bears a very different meaning.

32 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

with wine. Such, generally, as this ludicrous subtlety, which I shall mention. It was asked, When a dying man could be said to die ; at the time he actually expired, or when he was on the point of expiring ? When a person rising could be said to rise ; when he actually stood, or when he was but just sitting ? He who learned any art, at what time he became an artist ; when he was really one, or when he was just not one ? If you assert any one of these, you assert what is absurd and ridiculous ; yet it will appear more absurd, if you assert both or allow neither. But when they said that all these quibbles were futile and absurd, Do not, interrupted Taurus, despise these altogether as a mere trifling sport. The gravest philosophers have enquired seriously concerning these things ; and some have thought that the moment of dying was called and indeed really was that when life yet remained ; others thought at this period no life existed, and they called actual death that which was the act of dying. So of other similar things³, they have at different times defended different opinions. But our Plato, continued he, assigned this period neither to life

³ *Similar things.*] — This delicate point of vibration between two things entirely opposite, yet closely approximating, is admirably described in the Ode to Indifference, by Mrs. Greville :

Nor peace, nor ease, that heart can know,
Which, like the needle true,
Turns at the touch of joy or woe,
But turning trembles too.

nor death; which rule he also observed in all other disputes of a similar nature. For he saw indeed a contradiction each way, and that of two opposite things both could not separately be supported; and that the question was of the point of coherence betwixt two different things, namely life and death. For this reason he himself invented and expressed another new period as to the point of contact, which in a peculiar form of words he named “*την εξαιφνης φυσιν*”⁴; and you will find him thus expressing himself in his book called Parmenides: “For this suddenness seems to express something like a transition from one to another.”—Such were the contributions at the table of Taurus, and such as he himself used to say were the contents of his second course⁵.

⁴ *της εξαιφνης φυσιν.*]—A nature on a sudden, or a sudden nature.

⁵ *Second course.*]—The contents of the second course among the Romans were called bellaria, and consisted of fruits and confectionary.

C H A P. XIV.

Three reasons assigned by philosophers for the punishment of crimes. Why Plato has recorded only two of them.

IT is usually supposed that there are three proper reasons for punishing crimes; the one, which is called *νόθεσία* (admonition), or *κολασίς*, or *παραινεσίς*, when a rebuke is administered for the sake of correction and improvement, that he who has committed an accidental offence, may become more regular and attentive. The second is that, which they who distinguish nicely between these terms call *τιμωρία* (vengeance). This mode of noticing an offence takes place when the dignity and authority of him against whom it is committed, is to be defended, lest the passing by, the crime should give rise to contempt or a diminution of respect, therefore they suppose this word to signify the vindication of honour. The third mode of punishment is called by the Greeks *παραδειγμα* (example) and is applied when punishment is necessary for the sake of example, that others may be deterred from similar offences against the public by the dread of similar punishment. Therefore did our ancestors also denominate the heaviest and most important

tant punishments, examples¹. When therefore there is either great hope, that he who has offended will without punishment voluntarily correct himself, or on the contrary there is no hope that he can be amended and corrected, or that it is not necessary to fear any loss of that dignity, against which he has offended, or the offence is of that kind, the example of which it is not necessary to impress with particular terror; in this case, and with respect to every such offence, there does not seem to exist the necessity of being eager to inflict punishment. These three modes of vengeance, other philosophers in various places, and our Taurus in the first book of his Commentaries on the Gorgias of Plato, has set down. But Plato himself has plainly said, that there only exist two causes for punishment. The one, which we have first mentioned, for correction; the other, which we have spoken of in the third place, to deter by example. These are the words of Plato:—“ It is proper for every one who is punished, by him who punishes from a proper motive, that he should become better and receive advantage; or that he should be an example to others, that others, seeing him suffer, may from terror be rendered better.”

In these lines it is evident that Plato used the word *τιμωρία* not, as I have before remarked some people have, but in its common and ge-

¹ Thus we say in English *to make an example of a person*.

36 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

neral sense, for all kinds of punishment. But whether, because he passed over as too insignificant and really contemptible, the inflicting punishment to avenge the injured dignity of man; or rather that he omitted it as not being necessary to the question he was discussing, as he was writing of punishments which were to take place not in this life among men, but after death, this I leave to others to determine.²

² The subject of crimes and punishments is hardly to be exhausted; and in all ages of mankind the gravest and wisest philosophers have differed in their opinions and arguments concerning them. The state of society is constantly changing in all places and at all periods; consequently that system which may be wise at one epoch, may also be absurd, inconsistent, and inadequate in another. At one time severity may be indispensably necessary, at another, mildness becomes the truest policy. To recapitulate the sentiments of those who have gone before us, or indeed of our contemporaries, would be tedious, and perhaps, from my pen, uninteresting. I am happy to transcribe a sentence from Seneca concerning crimes and punishments, to which I presume the majority of mankind will without difficulty accede; it seems indeed to be the only unexceptionable basis for every code of penal laws: "The end of punishment is either to make him better who is punished, or that his example who is punished may make others better; or, lastly, that the bad being taken away, the good may live in greater security."

C H A P. XV.

Of the word quiesco; whether the letter e ought to be made long or short.

A FRIEND of mine, a man of serious study, and well versed in the more elegant pursuits of learning, commonly used the word *quiesco* with the *e* short. Another friend of mine, who was very dextrous in the subtleties of science, but too fastidious and nice with respect to common expressions, thought that he spoke barbarously; saying, that he ought to have pronounced it long, and not short. He observed, that *quiescit* ought to be pronounced as *calescit*, *nitescit*, *stupescit*, and many others of a similar kind. He added also, that *quies* was pronounced with the *e* long, and not short. But my friend remarked, with his accustomed modesty and moderation, that if the *Ælii*¹, the *Cineri*², and the *Santræ*³, thought it was to be so pronounced, he would not comply

¹ *Ælius*]—is more than once mentioned by Gellius in terms of respect, as a very learned man.

² *Cinerus*.]—I do not find this name in Nonius Marcellus, but he is again introduced by Gellius in the 16th book, and is mentioned by Macrobius.

³ *Santræ*.]—Santræ is a name which occurs in Marcellus, where he is represented as a writer on the antiquity of words.

38 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

with their opinion in contradiction to the universal usage of the Latin tongue; nor would he be so particular in his language as to use harsh and uncommon expressions. He also wrote upon this subject in a kind of mock exercise; and demonstrated that *quiesco* was not similar to the words above mentioned, nor derived from *quies*; but that *quies* was derived from *quiesco*, and that this word had the manner and the origin of the Greek word $\varepsilon\sigma\chi\circ\sigma$ and $\varepsilon\sigma\chi\circ\nu$, which is Ionice from the verb $\varepsilon\sigma\chi\omega$, $\iota\sigma\chi\omega$. He proved then, by reasons which were not uninteresting, that *quiesco* ought not to be pronounced with the *e* long.

CHAP. XVI.

The common word deprecor applied by the poet Catullus in an unusual but not improper manner. The meaning of this word, with examples from ancient writers.

ACERTAIN person, who by an irregular and rude sort of exercise, had asserted claims to the reputation of eloquence, but had not learned the true usages of the Latin tongue, when we were one evening walking in the Lyceum,

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 39

eeum, afforded us much mirth and amusement. For as the word *deprecor* was placed with particular judgment in a poem of Catullus, he, not knowing this, observed, that the lines were remarkably flat, which in my opinion are exceedingly beautiful. They are here added¹:

Lesbia mi dicit semper male, nec tacet unquam
De me Lesbia; me despeream nisi amat,
Quo signo? quasi non totidem mox deprecor
illi
Affidue: verum despeream nisi amo.

The good man² thought that *deprecor* was used
in

* *Here added.*]—I have given in the text the original, as it appears in the edition of Gronovius. It is undoubtedly pointed wrong. It should be read thus:

Lesbia mi dicit semper male, nec tacet unquam
De me: Lesbia me despeream nisi amat, &c.

A friend thus translates the epigram,

So oft does Lesbia rail upon my name;
Ah! may I perish but the maid's in love,
I know it—for I feel a kindred flame,
And equal railings equal fondness prove.

This is elegant, and sufficiently explanatory of the poet's meaning; but yet there is a point in the original which it has not reached. Mr. Wilkes, in his elegant edition of Catullus, has adopted the reading which I have given above. The second line is sometimes read thus;

De me despeream me nisi Lesbia amat.

* *Good man.*]—*Bonus homo*; which expression is used in a sense of ridicule or contempt. Thus, in English, the epithet *good* is often applied ludicrously; and we say, *good*

40 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

in this passage, as it is generally applied by the vulgar, to signify, I earnestly pray, entreat, and supplicate, where the preposition *de* is used intensively. If it were so, the lines would be inanimate indeed; but the contrary is the fact. For the preposition *de*, as it is doubtful, conveys a double meaning in one and the same word; and *deprecor* is here applied by Catullus in the sense of, I detest, execrate, put away, and abominate. It has a different meaning in Cicero's Oration for Sylla; where he says, "Quam multorum hic vitam a Sulla *deprecatus*." Thus in his dissuasive from the Agrarian law: "Si quid deliquerо, nullae sunt imagines quae me a vobis deprecentur."

But it is not Catullus only who has thus used this word: the books of the ancients are full of this signification of it, from which I have selected one or two examples. Q. Ennius, in his Erctheus, has expressed himself not in a very different manner from Catullus:

Quibus nunc ærumna mea libertatem paro
Quibus feryitutem mea miseria *deprecor*.

Where it signifies to drive away, to remove either

man and good fellow, contemptuously. Good man is sometimes used synonymously with husband. See also Cardinal Wolsey's famous soliloquy in Shakspere:

The third day comes a frost, a killing frost;
And when he thinks, good easy man! full surely
His greatness is a ripening, nips his root,
And then he falls as I do.

by

by entreaty or by some other method. The same Ennius also, in his *Ctesiphon*:

Ego quum meæ vitæ parcā, letum inimico
deprecor.

Cicero in his sixth book *De Republica*, has thus expressed himself:

“Quod quidem eo fuit majus qui quum causa
pari collegæ essent, non modo invidia pari non
erant, sed etiam Claudi invidiam Gracchi caritas
deprecabatur.”

This also means, not that he earnestly intreated, but that he, as it were, drove from him, and averted envy. Thus the Greeks, by an affinity of expression, say *παραιτημαι*. In his *Oration for A. Cæcina*, Cicero also uses the word again:

“Quid huic homini facias? nonne concedas
interdum ut excusatione summæ stultiæ, summæ
improbitatis odium deprecetur.”

So in his second *Oration against Verres*;

“Nunc vero quid faciat Hortensius? avari-
tiæ crima frugalitates laudibus deprecetur? an
hominem flagitiosissimum, libidinosissimum ne-
quissimumque defendet?”

Thus Catullus says, that he does the same as Lesbia; that he publicly spake ill of her, that he scorned, despised, and constantly detested her, and yet that he passionately loved her.

42 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

CHAP. XVII.

Who first instituted public libraries¹. The number of books deposited in public libraries at Athens before the Persian invasion.

PISISTRATUS the tyrant is said to have been the first who supplied books of the liberal sciences at Athens for public use. Afterwards the Athenians themselves, with great care and pains, increased their number; but all this multitude of books, Xerxes, when he obtained possession of Athens, and burned the whole of the city except the citadel, seized and carried away

¹ *Public libraries.*]—That Pisistratus was the first who collected books, seems generally allowed by ancient writers. Before the Theban and Trojan wars we must not look even for books, much less for collections of books. It is singular that Pythagoras forbade his disciples to commit any thing to writing, with an exception, I believe, in favour of those who pursued mathematical studies.

In Greece were several famous libraries. Clearchus, who was a follower of Plato, founded a magnificent one in Heraclea. There was one in the island of Cnidos. The books of Athens were by Sylla removed to Rome. The public libraries of the Romans were filled with books, not of miscellaneous literature, but were rather political and sacred collections, consisting of what regarded their laws and the ceremonies of their religion. Their private libraries were very splendid and magnificent, as I have elsewhere described.

to Persia. But king Seleucus, who was called Nicanor, many years afterwards, was careful that all of them should be again carried back to Athens.

A prodigious number of books were in succeeding times collected by the Ptolemies² in Egypt, to the amount of near seven hundred thousand volumes. But in the first Alexandrine war the whole library, during the plunder of the city, was destroyed by fire, not by any concerted design, but accidentally by the auxiliary soldiers.

² *The Ptolemies.*]—The Egyptian library was began by Ptolemy Philadelphus. It is worth relating of this prince, that when the Athenians were in great distress from a famine, he refused to furnish them with provisions till they should first present him with the original works of their three celebrated tragedians. This library was accidentally burned by Cæsar's soldiers, but it was afterwards restored by Antony, who gave it to Cleopatra.

Nothing could be more honourable, or perhaps more useful to a nation, than a great national library. It may be said, that in this country such a library would be superfluous, as there exist so many valuable and curious collections. This is true, but this is not enough.—I know that many such collections exist among us, but I object that they are not sufficiently easy of access. The ingenuous pride and delicacy of a scholar, will often make him diffident of applying for books where alone they are to be had; particularly, which is often the case, when the loan of them is considered as a great personal obligation.

BOOK VII.

C H A P. I.

Memorable facts of P. Scipio Africanus, taken from the Annals.

WHAT has been recorded in Greek history of Olympias, wife of king Philip, and mother of Alexander, has also been related of the mother of P. Scipio, first called Africanus. For C. Oppius¹, Julius Higinus, and others who have written on the life and actions of Africanus, affirm that his mother was for a long time supposed to be barren, and that Publius Scipio, to whom she had been married, despaired of having children. Afterwards, when in the absence of her husband, she slept alone in her own apartment, and usual bed, an immense serpent² was seen to repose

¹ *C. Oppius.*]—C. Oppius was a biographer, and is quoted by Plutarch, Pliny, and others.

² *Immense serpent.*]—Many exalted characters have wished to circulate the opinion, that under the form of serpents, Jupiter or Apollo, or some other of the deities, were the authors of their being. In imitation of Alexander and Scipio,

repose near her, which (they who beheld it making a great noise, and being much terrified) glided away

Augustus Cæsar also was proud to have it believed, that in the shape of a serpent Apollo enjoyed his mother *Atia*.—The story is related at length by Suetonius; where also we are told, that from the time of her conception there was impressed on her body a spot like a serpent, which prevented her from attending the public baths.

Sidonius Apollinaris thus speaks of this circumstance, as it respects Augustus :

Magnus Alexander, nec non Augustus, habentur
Concepti serpente deo.

Dryden makes a happy use of this fabulous origin of Alexander, in his Ode on St. Cecilia's day :

The song began from Jove,
Who left his blissful seats above,
Such is the power of mighty Love!
A dragon's fiery form belied the god:
Sublime on radiant spires he trod,
When he to fair Olympia pres'd,
And while he sought her snowy breast,
Then round her slender waist he curl'd,
And stamp'd an image of himself, a sovereign of the world.

See also in Milton a beautiful allusion to these fables:

Pleasing was his shape
And lovely, never since of serpent kind
Lovelier: not those that in Illyria chang'd,
Hermione and Cadmus, or the god
In Epidaurus, nor to which transform'd
Ammonian Jove or Capitoline was seen;
He with Olympias, this with her who bore
Scipio, the heighth of Rome.

The serpent, among the ancients, was universally considered as the symbol of good fortune. This perhaps is enough,

46 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

away and could not be found. This was related by P. Scipio to the augurs; who replied, after performing sacrifice, that he would have children. Not many days after this serpent had been seen in her bed, the woman began to feel the usual symptoms of conception. In the tenth month she brought forth; and that Publius Scipio Africanus was then born, who conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians in Africa, in the second Punic war. But he was much rather believed to be a man of divine merit from his actual exploits, than from this prodigy. Yet it is not impertinent to add, that the writers whom I have mentioned above have recorded, that this Scipio Africanus did very frequently, at the latter part of the night, before break of day, go to the Capitol, and command the chapel³ of Jove to be opened; and that there he would remain a long time alone, as if consulting with Jupiter⁴ concerning the repub-

enough, to say more would lead to a long discussion of serpent worship as practised by the Romans, the Greeks, the Phoenicians, and the Egyptians.

³ *The chapel.*]—That is, the interior and more sacred part of the temple, where the image of the deity was deposited. The word in the original is *cellam*. Arnobius *adversus Gentes* uses *cellulas* in the same manner: *Conclavia et cellulas fabricari.*

⁴ *As if consulting with Jupiter.*]—Thus also Numa Pompilius, in order to obtain greater influence with the people, pretended to have nightly communication with the nymph Egeria. To which tradition Juvenal thus alludes:

Madidamque Capenam
Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ.

lic.

lic. The porters also of the temple were greatly astonished, that on his coming to the Capitol alone, and at that time, the dogs, who were always furious to other people, neither barked at nor molested him. The many admirable things which Scipio said and did, seemed to strengthen and confirm the popular opinions concerning him. One of which was of this kind: He laid close siege to a town in Spain, which was strong, well protected by its situation, walls, and troops, and had also abundance of provisions; there were no hopes of his taking it; and on a certain day he sat in his camp administering justice, from a place whence the town was visible at a distance. Then one of the soldiers, whose cause was trying, standing near him, asked, as usual, the day and place when his *recognizance* should appear⁵; Scipio, pointing with his hand to the citadel of the besieged town, “After two days,” says he, “they shall appear yonder;” and so it happened. On the third day from the time when he ordered the sureties to appear the town was taken; and on that very day he administered justice in the citadel of the place.

⁵ *Recognizance should appear.*]—On the explanation of the legal terms here used by Gellius, consult Heineccius, page 592.

C H A P. II.¹

*Shameful error of Cæsellius Vindex, found in the book
which he called “ Ancient Readings.”*

WE find a disgraceful mistake in these very celebrated Commentaries of Ancient Readings of Cæsellius Vindex, a man who was indeed very accurate in most instances; which error has escaped many, although, in order to reprehend Cæsellius, various things are calumniously hunted out². Cæsellius has written, that Q. Ennius

¹ The argument of this chapter has been objected to by some, as a proof of great vanity and ostentation on the part of Gellius. H. Stephens undertakes his defence; which, if any defence were necessary, will be found sufficient and satisfactory. This vindication of Gellius by Stephens is written against Ludovicus Vives in particular.

Gellius has made out his case clearly enough, and proved all that he asserted. We learn from this chapter the necessity of never introducing false or partial quotations; by doing which truth itself may be injured, and the reputation of a man of genius disgraced.

Concerning Cæsellius Vindex, consult Book iii. Chap. 16.

² *Calumniously hunted out.*]—Whoever wishes to see this disingenuous spirit of criticism successfully exposed, with all the effect of wit and ridicule, will be amply satisfied with Swift’s digression concerning critics in his Tale of a Tub. “ The proper employment of a true ancient genuine critic,” says Swift, “ is to travel through this vast world of writings;

nlius, in his thirteenth book of Annals, used *cor* in the masculine gender. The words of Cæsellius are here added: “Ennius has used *cor*, as many other words, in the masculine gender; for in the thirteenth book of Annals, he said *quem cor*; he then subjoins two verses from Ennius:

Hannibal audaci cum pectore dehortatur
Ne bellum faciam: quem credidit esse meum *cor*?”

It is Antiochus king of Asia who says this. He is surprised, and in astonishment, that Hannibal the Carthaginian should discourage him, being inclined to make war upon the Romans. But Cæsellius understood these verses as if Antiochus should say, “Hannibal advises me not to carry on war; which when he does, what sort of a heart does he suppose me to have? How foolish does he suppose me to be, desiring to make me believe

to pursue and hunt these monstrous faults bred within them. To drag out the lurking errors, like Cacus from his den; to multiply them like hydra’s heads, and rake them together like Augeas’ dung, &c. &c.” Which passage, by the way, bears a remarkable resemblance to one which occurs in a curious and scarce little tract, *De Charlataneria Eruditorum*.

“ Prima nobis prodeat grammaticorum ac criticorum gens aspera et ferox, qui cum pueros ad virgam obsequentes habuere in scholis nulli eruditorum parcunt et in ipsum orbem Romanum Græciamque universam principatum quendam ambitione sibi vindicent. Sive enim Græcus, sive Latinus simplex preponatur, non tam id agunt ut scite et apposite dicta evolvant ac nitori suo reddant, quam ut nodum quærant in scirpo at ad manuscriptos codices configuant, variasque lectiones, nullo habito delectu cumulent; tum vero urere, secare et nihil a virgula censoria intactum relinquere.”

50 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

this!" Thus Cæsellius: but the meaning of Ennius is very different; for there are not two but three verses belonging to this assertion of Ennius, the third of which Cæsellius has not regarded:

Hannibal audaci cum pectore de me hortatur
Ne bellum faciam: quem creditit esse meum
cor

Suasorem summum et studiosum robore belli.

The sense and order of these words I believe to be this: "Hannibal, that most bold and valiant man, whom I believed (for that is the meaning of *cor meum creditit*; as if he had said, whom I, foolish man, believed) to be a great adviser to war, dissuades and forbids me to make war." But probably Cæsellius, from this negligent disposition of the words, read it *quem cor*, giving to *quem* an acute accent, as if it referred to *cor*, and not to Hannibal. But it does not escape me, if any should be so stupid, that the *cor* of Cæsellius may be defended as masculine, by reading the third verse separately and unconnected.—As if Antiochus were to exclaim, in a broken and abrupt mode of expression, *summum suasorem!* But they who say this are unworthy of reply.

C H A P. III.

Censure of Tullius Tiro, Cicero's freedman, on a speech of Marcus Cato, delivered in the senate for the Rhodians. The answer which I have made to that censure.

THE city of Rhodes¹ was celebrated for the convenience of its insular situation, the splendour of its works, its knowledge of navigation,

¹ *The city of Rhodes.*]—In my notes to Herodotus I have spoken at some length concerning the Rhodians, explaining their policy and their power.—The English reader may perhaps receive some benefit from consulting the place, Vol. III. page 260. The colossus of Rhodes is memorable as one of the seven wonders of the world, and notorious to every school-boy. Some few particulars concerning Rhodes, omitted in the note to which I allude, may not be unacceptable here. Cicero, in his *Oration pro lege Manilia*, testifies that, even within his remembrance, the Rhodians retained their national glory, and their naval skill. Consult also the fourteenth book of Strabo, who speaks of the Rhodians in terms of the highest commendation. According to Suidas, the Rhodians, from this circumstance of their colossus, were named *Colossaeis*: there were other *colossi* celebrated in ancient history; but this of Rhodes was far the most distinguished.—Learned men are not agreed about the etymology of the word *Colossus*. Some say it was so named from *Coletus*, an artist of Rhodes, who constructed this famous work: neither are writers better agreed about its height; it was probably of the height of about one hundred and twenty feet. Pliny says it was made by one *Chares* of Lindus, Book 34. chap. 7.

and naval victories. This city, though a friend and ally to the Roman people, was in friendship also with Perses, son of Philip king of Macedon, who was at war with Rome. The Rhodians endeavoured, by frequent embassies to Rome, to heal the difference betwixt them. But as this pacification could not be accomplished, addresses were often made by many Rhodians in their public assemblies, that if peace were not obtained, the Rhodians should assist the king against the Romans, though no public decree was passed on this matter. But when Perses was conquered and taken prisoner², the Rhodians were in great alarm, from the many things which had been done and said in their popular assemblies; and they sent ambassadors to Rome, who might palliate the temerity of some of their citizens, and clear them, as a body, from all imputation on their fi-

² *Prisoner.*]—In their treatment of this prince, the Romans by no means shewed their accustomed magnanimity. He was dragged in chains along the streets of Rome, to grace, or rather to disgrace the triumph of his conqueror. After repeated experience of the most severe and cruel treatment, he was permitted to expire in prison.—His eldest son, Alexander, was compelled to follow the mean occupation of a carpenter for a livelihood. He lived, however, to triumph so far over his ill fortune, as to obtain an honourable office in the Roman senate. The history of kings and princes who, like Perses, fell from their high estates to the abyss of misery, affords an useful but melancholy lesson.—See this subject of the vanity of human wishes happily illustrated by Juvenal, in his tenth satire, and by Dr. Johnson in his imitation of that poem.

delity.

delity. When the ambassadors came to Rome, and were admitted into the senate, and, after speaking in supplicatory terms, had again departed, the question began to be put; and when part of the senate complained of the Rhodians, and affirmed them to be ill-intentioned, and thought that war should be declared against them, M. Cato arose: He throughout asserted, that allies so excellent and faithful, upon the plunder and possession of whose riches, not a few of the principal men were earnestly resolved, should be protected and preserved. He made that famous oration, which is separately preserved, and is inscribed "Pro Rhodiensibus," and which is in the fifth book of *Origins*. Tiro Tullius, the freedman of M. Cicero, was a man of an elegant mind, and by no means ignorant of ancient literature. He was, from an early age, liberally instructed, and employed by Cicero himself as an assistant and companion in his studies. But indeed he presumed farther than might be tolerated or forgiven. He wrote a letter to Q. Axius³, the friend of his patron, with too great boldness and warmth, in which he seemed to himself to have criticised this oration for the Rhodians with extreme acuteness and subtlety of judgment. From this epistle I may perhaps be allowed to examine some of his animadversions, reprehending indeed Tiro with greater propri-

³ *Axius.*] For Axius some would in this place read Atticus.

ety, than he on this occasion observed towards Cato. The fault he first found was, that Cato ignorantly and absurdly, in his exordium, used a style of too much insolence, severity, and reproach, when he declared himself afraid, lest the senate, from the joy and exultation of their successes, being unhinged in their minds, should act unwisely, and prove themselves but ill qualified properly to comprehend and deliberate. He remarks, "That patrons, at the beginning, who plead for the accused, ought to sooth and conciliate the judges; and that, keeping their minds on the stretch of suspense and expectation, they should sooth them by modest and complimentary expressions, and not irritate them by insolent and imperious menaces." He then added the exordium, which was this:

"I know that with most men, happy, affluent, and prosperous affairs will usually elevate the mind, and increase and promote their pride and ferocity⁴; it is therefore of great concern

⁴ *Ferocity.*] See this sentiment expressed with great force by Juvenal, in his sketch of the character of Sejanus. The passage to which I allude it is not impossible but Gray might have in mind when he wrote his Ode on the Prospect of Eton College.

Ambition this shall teach to rise,
Then whirl the wretch from high,
To bitter scorn a sacrifice,
And grinning infamy.

Consult also our Shakespeare's description of the character of Wolsey.

with

with me, as this matter has succeeded so fortunately, lest any thing adverse happen in our consultation, to allay our good fortune ; and that this our exultation may not become too extravagant. Adverse affairs check themselves⁵, and teach what is necessary to be done ; those which are prosperous are apt, from the joy of them, to thrust people aside from wise consultation and comprehension. I therefore the more strenuously advise that this matter be deferred for some days, till, from such excess of joy, we again become masters of ourselves." Of what Cato next says, he affirms :

" That they are a confession, not a defence ; nor are they a removal or transferring of the crime, but a participation of it with many others, which has nothing to do with justification. Moreover," continues he, " he acknowledges, that the Rhodians, who were accused of favouring and wishing well to the king, in opposition to the Romans, were impelled to these sentiments by views of interest ; lest the Romans, by the conquest of king Perse, should be elated to an extravagant degree of pride and insolence." He quotes the words themselves, which I subjoin ; " I indeed must confess that the Rhodians did not wish us

⁵ *Check themselves.*] In the original it is " domant se," literally tame themselves ; thus Gray calls adversity the tamer of the human breast.

56 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

to fight as we have fought, nor that we should overcome king Perseus; but I think also that many people and nations wished the same; and I do not know whether some of them might not be averse to our success, not from a desire to see us disgraced, but because they apprehended that if there was no one whom we feared, and we had no limits to our will, they must then be under our sole dominion, and in servitude to us. I believe they were of this opinion, from a regard to their own liberty; nor did the Rhodians ever publicly assist Perseus. Reflect with how much greater circumspection we act in our private characters, one among another. Each of us, if we think that any thing is imagined against our interest, oppose it with all our force, that it may not take effect: but this people nevertheless submitted."

With respect to his censure of the introduction, Tiro ought to have known that the Rhodians were defended by Cato in the character of a senator, of a man of consular and censorial dignity, advising what he deemed best for the public, not merely as a patron⁷ pleading the cause of the accused. One kind of exordium is proper to those who defend the accused before judges, wishing, by all possi-

⁷ *Not merely as a patron.*] The good sense of this reply will strike the slightest observer, and fully answers the objection and cavil of Tiro.

ble means, to excite humanity and compassion; and another when the senate is consulted concerning the commonwealth, by a man of superior authority, indignant at the most unjust sentiments of some, and with great seriousness and weight expressing his zeal for the public advantage, and his concern for the safety of their allies. It is properly and usefully prescribed in the schools of rhetoricians, that judges who sit upon the lives of strangers, in a cause not at all relating to themselves, and from which no risk, no emolument is to ensue to them, except the office of passing judgment, are to be soothed and conciliated to a mild and favourable opinion, and to the preservation of those who are accused before them. But when the common dignity, honour, and advantage of a nation is involved, and on this account advice is to be given, what shall be done hereafter, or whether the present proceedings shall not be deferred; then he who undertakes to render his hearers favourable and merciful, in exordiums of this kind, does no good, and uses expressions not necessary for the purpose. The common interest and the common danger already prepare them to hearken to advice, and they are inclined of themselves to require a benevolent spirit in him who gives it. But when he says that Cato allows that the Rhodians were unwilling that they should have fought as they had fought, and that king Perse should be conquered by the Roman people; when he affirmed that these were the sentiments

sentiments not of the Rhodians only, but of many other nations, but that this availed nothing to justify or extenuate their crime, Tiro is, in the first instance, guilty of a great falsehood. He gives the words of Cato, and calumniates him for words totally different. For Cato does not confess that the Rhodians were averse to the victory of the Roman people; but he confessed that he believed them to be so, which, doubtless, was an avowal of what he himself thought, and not an acknowledgment of the crime of the Rhodians. In which thing, it is my opinion, he is not only not to be censured, but worthy of praise and admiration, since he seemed to give his opinion against the Rhodians frankly and conscientiously, and by obtaining confidence to his candour, softened and conciliated what appeared to be hostile. They ought, therefore, from the reason of the thing, to be more dear and acceptable to the Roman people, who, when they might have been useful to the king, and desired to be so, yet actually contributed nothing to his assistance. He afterwards adds these words from the same oration: “ Shall we then suddenly forego these so great benefits, this valuable friendship, voluntarily and irregularly? and what we say they were inclined to do, shall we make haste to do before them?” This *enthymeme*⁸, he says, is mean and vicious. For it may be replied, certainly we will anticipate

* *This enthymeme*] This in logic is an argument consisting of two propositions, the antecedent, and its consequence.

them, for if we do not, we shall be oppressed, and shall fall into those snares against which we omitted to take previous caution. Lucilius, he adds, properly imputes this fault to the poet Euripides, because, when king Polyphontes said that he had killed his brother, because his brother had previously concerted his death, Merope, his brother's wife, reproved him in these lines :

If, as thou say'st⁹, my husband meant to slay thee,

Yet art thou bound to sheathe thy vengeful blade¹⁰

Until that time arrive when he resolv'd

To have accomplished his inhuman purpose.

But this, he remarks, is full of absurdity, to wish to do any thing with that design and purpose, that indeed you may never accomplish what you intend. But indeed Tiro did not reflect that in all kinds of precaution, the same rule did not apply ; and that the business and duties of human life, with respect to anticipation, delay, revenge, or caution, did not resemble the battles of gladiators ; for the fortune of gladiators prepared to engage, was of this kind, either to kill if they should conquer, or to die if they should yield¹⁰. But the life of men

⁹ *If, as thou say'st,*] I have given the version of Mr. Wodhull.

¹⁰ *Should yield.*] The preservation of a conquered gladiator did not depend upon his adversary, but on the caprice of the spectators, and was determined by a motion of the thumb.

60 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

men is not circumscribed by such unjust or insuperable necessity, that you ought first to commit an injury, lest, by not so doing, you should endure it". So far was it from the humanity of the Roman people to anticipate, that they often neglected to avenge injuries committed against themselves. He afterwards asserts, that in this oration Cato has used arguments both disingenuous and too audacious, not at all proper for such a man as he was, but full of art and deceit, resembling the fallacies of Greek sophists. For when, says he, it was objected to the Rhodians that they wished to make war on the Roman people, he did not pretend to deny it, but he required that it should be forgiven, because they had not done it, although they greatly desired it: that he had also introduced what the logicians call *epagoge*¹¹, which is indeed both insidious and sophistical, not so much calculated for truth as for cavil, endeavouring to enforce and confirm by fallacious examples, that no one who wished to do ill could justly be punished, unless he had actually done

When the gladiator was overcome he lowered his arms; if the spectators wished his life to be saved, pollicem premebant, they turned down their thumbs; if they wished him to be put to death, pollicem vertebant, they turned up their thumbs.

¹¹ *Endure it.*] This is a generous and noble sentiment, and worthy the more pure and chastened spirit of the gospel.

¹² *Epagoge.*] That is, a comparison of things or arguments resembling each other.

that

that which he wished to do ¹³. The words of Cato in this oration are these :

“ He who speaks with greatest acrimony against them, says this, that they desired to become enemies. And who is there among us, who as far as he himself is concerned, would think it right that any one should suffer punishment because it was proved that he desired to do ill ? No one, I believe, for, as far as relates to myself, I certainly would not.” Then a little afterwards he adds, “ And I would ask, where is the law so severe as to assert, if any one shall desire to do this, let him be fined a thousand sesterces ? If any one shall wish to have more than five hundred acres, let him be fined as much : if any one shall wish to have a greater number of cattle, let him be fined as much ; but we all of us wish to have more than we already possess ¹⁴, and do so with impunity.” Afterwards he adds, “ But if it be not just that honour should be given to him who says he wished to do well, but really did not, shall it be injurious to the Rhodians, not that they acted ill, but that it is reported of them that they wished to do ill ? ”

¹³ *Wished to do.*] Such, however, is the sublime morality of the gospel, which says of him who looketh with concupiscence on the wife of another, that he hath already committed the act of adultery in his heart.

¹⁴ *Already posses.*] There are indeed very few who do not occasionally indulge a wish like this expressed by Horace :

Oh si angulus iste
Proximus accedet qui nunc denormat agellum.

By

By such arguments Tiro Tullius affirms that Cato strenuously contended that the Rhodians should not be punished, because, though they desired to become the enemies of the Roman people, they really did not. It cannot, he allows, be contested, that the facts were by no means parallel, to desire to have more than five hundred acres, which by a decree of the people was forbidden to colonists, and to desire to make an unjust and impious war on the Roman people; nor could it be denied that the one was deserving of reward, the other of punishment. Services, says he, which are promised ought to be waited for, and certainly ought not to be rewarded till they are performed. But it is right to guard against impending injuries, rather than expect them. It is the height of folly, he observes, not to meet concerted injuries, but to wait and expect them; but when they are perpetrated and endured, then finally, when, being done they cannot be hindered, to punish them. These are the cold and insignificant objections which Tiro has brought against Cato. But Cato has not introduced this epagoge naked, solitary, and defenceless, but he has strengthened it by various means, and supported it by many arguments; and because he consulted not more for the Rhodians than for the commonwealth, he deemed nothing base that he said and did in this matter, as he attempted to obtain the preservation of allies by every kind of opinion: and first he not unskilfully accomplish-

ed

ed this, which is neither forbidden by the law of nations nor the law of nature, but by the influence of laws issued to remedy any evil, or to obtain time, such as the number of cattle, the limits prescribed to land, and other similar things ; in which things, what is forbidden by the law to be done, may not, according to the law, be done ; but to desist to do this, if it be possible, is not dishonourable. And these things he insensibly compared and confounded with that which by itself it is not honest either to do or wish to do ; then finally, lest the unsuitableness of the comparison should be obvious, he strengthens it by various modes of defence ; nor does he give much importance to the trifling but thoroughly sifted censures of the will in things forbidden ; which, in philosophic cases, are matters of dispute ; but he exerts his whole force in this alone, that the cause of the Rhodians, whose friendship it was the interest of the republic to retain, should be considered either as just, or at least should be forgiven ; in the mean time he affirms, that the Rhodians neither made war, nor desired to do so. He alledges also, that facts alone ought to be weighed and judged, but that the mere inclination, unsupported by any act, was neither obnoxious to the laws, nor to punishment. Sometimes, indeed, he seemingly concedes that they had offended, and he implores their pardon, and teaches that forgiveness is essential to human affairs. If they should refuse this pardon, he alarms them with fears of tumults in the commonwealth : on the contrary, if they should grant this pardon,

he shews them that the magnanimity of the Roman people would be preserved. The imputation of pride, which at this time, among other things, was in the senate objected to the Rhodians, he turns off, and eludes by an admirable and almost divine mode of reply.—We will add the words of Cato, since Tiro has omitted them :

“ They say that the Rhodians are haughty ; an imputation I would desire to avert from me and from my children. Let them be proud ; what is that to us ? shall we be angry that any are prouder than ourselves ? ”

Nothing possibly could be introduced with more dignity and strength than this apostrophe against the haughtiest of mankind, who, loving pride in themselves, reprobated it in others. We may also observe in the whole of Cato’s oration, that all the aids and implements of the rhetorical discipline were brought forwards, but by no means as in mock fights¹, or in those carried on for amusement and pleasure ; the matter, I say, was not agitated with an excessive degree of refinement, discrimination, and order, but as it were in a doubtful engagement, when the troops being scattered, it is in various places fought with doubtful fortune. So in this cause, when the pride of the Rhodians had notoriously provoked universal hatred and envy, he used promiscuously every mode of protection and defence. Sometimes he commends them

¹ *Mock fights.*]—*Simulachris præliorum.* Thus in Virgil :
Bellique carent simulachra sub armis.

as having the greatest merit, sometimes he exculpates them as innocent, though he reprimands them for a lavish waste of their wealth and fortunes. Again he attempts to extenuate what they had done, as if they had really done wrong, then he points out their natural claims on the republic; finally, he reminds them of the clemency and generosity of their ancestors, and of the common good. All which things, if they could have been introduced with more perspicuity, method, and harmony, certainly could not have been said with more strength and energy. Tiro Tullius has therefore acted an unjust part, having singled out from the various qualities of so rich an oration, happily connected with each other, a small and naked portion, as an object of his satire; as if it were unworthy M. Cato to assert that the mere propensity to faults not actually perpetrated ought not to be punished: but whoever will take in hand the entire oration of Cato, and carefully examine and peruse the letter of Tiro to Axius, will be able to form a more correct and satisfactory judgment of the reply which I have made to Tullius Tiro. He will thus be enabled more accurately and more perfectly to correct and approve what I have advanced.

66 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

CHAP. IV.

What sort of servants those were that Cælius Sabinus, the Civilian, says were exposed to sale with caps on¹. The reason of this. What slaves were anciently sold, “sub coronâ,” and the meaning of this phrase.

CÆLIUS SABINUS, the Civilian, has recorded that certain slaves were used to be exposed to sale, with caps upon their heads, and the seller of such slaves did not answer for them.—The reason of

¹ *With caps.*]—The explanation of this is attended with some small difficulty.—Pileus, or the Cap, was the emblem of liberty, and we learn from Livy and Plautus, that when slaves were made free they were termed Pileati.—Slaves in general, when sold, had their heads bare. Were these slaves then, for whom the seller was not responsible, of a higher order, as being entitled to this distinction? To me it seems probable that they were. When a slave was made free, his head was shaved, and he wore the cap of freedom. Thus Sosia says in Plautus:

So shall I directly
Cover my shorn crown with the cap of freedom.

Those also were called Servi Pileati, who preceded the funeral of their masters. If any person in his will gave liberty to any of his slaves, they immediately shaved their crowns, and walked in procession as freemen, with caps on their heads, before the funeral procession of their master. Slaves made free were called slaves ad pileum vocati, called to the cap. It will be seen that my opinion on this subject is different from that

of which, according to him, was, that slaves of this description ought so to be marked whilst on sale, that the buyers could not be mistaken or deceived, nor could the law of sale be perplexed. But it was immediately obvious what kind of slaves they were. "Thus," says he, "anciently, slaves taken in war were brought forth wearing garlands, and therefore were said to be sold *sub corona*. For as this garland was a sign of captives being sold, so the cap indicated that slaves of that kind were to be sold, concerning whom the seller did not make himself responsible to the purchaser."

But there is another explanation of this, why captives were said to be sold "*sub corona*," because soldiers, by way of security, stood round a number of captives exposed to sale, and this circle of soldiers was called *corona*. But that what I have before alledged is nearer the truth, we learn from Cato in his book *De Re Militari*. These are Cato's words: "The people on their own account would rather crowned offer supplication on account of good success, than, being crowned, be sold from ill success."

that given by Mr. Adams in page 35 of his *Roman Antiquities*. It may not be improper to add, that although the cap was an emblem of liberty, the Roman citizens did not wear it, they appeared in public with their heads uncovered; and therefore it is said of Julius Cæsar, that he was exceedingly gratified by the permission to wear a crown of laurel, which concealed his baldness.

C H A P. V.

Remarkable story of Polus the player¹.

THERE was an actor in Greece of great celebrity, superior to the rest in the grace and harmony of his voice and action. His name it is said was Polus, and he acted in the tragedies of the more eminent poets, with great knowledge and accuracy. This Polus lost by death his only and beloved son. When he had sufficiently indulged his natural grief, he returned to his employment. Being at this time to act the Electra of Sophocles at Athens, it was his part to carry an urn as containing the bones of Orestes. The argument of the fable is so imagined, that Electra, who is presumed to carry the relics of her brother, laments and commiserates his end, who is believed to have died a violent death. Polus

¹ The actors of Greece, and of Athens in particular were held in extraordinary estimation. We accordingly find that they were occasionally employed on affairs of state, and sent on foreign embassies.—Thus we find, that in a solemn embassy sent from Athens to Philip of Macedon, there were players, and that he distinguished these with particular marks of kindness. On the Grecian theatre as well as on the Roman, the parts of women were performed by men, which custom also prevailed in the earlier periods of the English stage.

therefore,

therefore, clad in the mourning habit of Electra, took from the tomb the bones and urn of his son, and as if embracing Orestes, filled the place, not with the image and imitation, but with the sighs and lamentations of unfeigned sorrow. Therefore, when a fable seemed to be represented, real grief was displayed.

C H A P. VI.

What Aristotle wrote on the natural defect of some of the senses¹.

OF the five senses which nature has given to animals, sight, hearing, taste, touch, and smell, called by the Greeks *αἰσθησίς*, some animals want one, some another, and are naturally produced either without sight, smell, or hearing. But Aristotle affirms that no animal is born without

¹ Gellius is here guilty of a little lapse of memory.—This quotation from Aristotle is not found in his tract on Memory, but in his treatise on Sleep and Watchfulness. Nature is very provident and very bountiful, for such animals as are defective in any particular sense, are notoriously excellent in those which they possess.—We may truly say with Pope :

Whether with reason or with instinct blest,
Know all enjoy the power which suits them best.

70 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

the sense of taste or touch. The words from his book, "On Memory," are these: " Except the imperfect animals, all have touch and taste."

CHAP. VII.

Whether the word affatim should be pronounced like admodum, with the acute accent on the first syllable; with certain observations on other words, not without their ingenuity.

THE poet Annianus¹, besides his other agreeable accomplishments, was very well skilled in ancient literature and verbal criticism; he conversed also with a remarkable and learned gracefulness. He pronounced *affatim* as *admodum*, with the first not the middle syllable accented, and his opinion was that the ancients so pronounced it. He says that in his hearing Probus, the grammarian, thus read these verses in the *Cistellaria* of Plautus:

¹ *Annianus.*]—This person's name again occurs in Book ix. c. 10.

Potin² es tu homo facinus facere strenuum,
 Aliorum est affatim qui faciant. Sane ego
 Me volo fortem perhiberier virum.

The reason of this accent he affirmed was, that *affatim* was not two distinct parts of speech, but both parts were united in one word, as in this which we call *exadversum*, he thought the second syllable ought to be made acute, because it was one and not two parts of speech, and that in Terence these two verses ought to be read thus,

In quo³ hæc discebatur ludo, exadversum loco
 Tonstrina erat quædam.

He added also, that the preposition *ad* was accented when it was used as we say intensively, as *adfabre*,

² *Potin.*]—This fragment is thus translated in Thornton's *Plautus*:

Are you a man that's fit to undertake
 An enterprize of daring villainy?
 There are enough besides
 Would undertake to do it.—I'm resolv'd
 To shew myself a man of courage.

Instead of *Cistellaria*, Gronovius recommends the reading of *Clitellaria*, from *Clitellæ*, which signifies a pack-saddle.

³ *In quo.*]—There was a barber's shop opposite the place where she went to school.

Barbers' shops at Athens and at Rome were resorted to by the idle and curious to discuss the topics of the day, as not many years since was customary in this country.—I believe that it is still the case in country-towns and villages remote from the metropolis.

admodum, and *adprobe*. In other respects also Annianus was very sensible in his remarks. But he thought that this particle *ad*, when used intensively, ought to be acute; but this is not without exception, for we say *adpotus* as well as *adprimus* and *adprimi*, in all which *ad* is used intensively; nor is the particle *ad* properly pronounced with an acute accent. But in *adprobus*, which signifies *valde probus*, I cannot deny but that it ought to be made acute in the first syllable, Cæcilius, in his comedy which is called *Triumphus*, uses this word.

Hierocles⁴ hospes est mihi, adolescens *adprobus*. In these words, therefore, which we say ought not to have the acute accent, is it that the syllable which follows is long by nature, which does not admit the first syllable to be accented in words of more than two syllables? L. Livius, in his *Odyssley*, uses *adprimum*, with the first syllable long, in this verse:

Ibi⁵ denique vir summus *adprimus* Patroclus. The same Livius in his *Odyssley* says *præmodum* like *admodum*. Thus *parcentes præmodum*, which signifies *supra modum*, and it is used as it were *præter modum*, in which the first syllable ought to have the acute accent.

⁴ *Hierocles.*]—Hierocles is my guest, a most deserving youth.

⁵ *Ibi.*]—There also Patrocles a man in the first degree illustrious,

C H A P. VIII.

Incredible story of a dolphin who loved a youth.

THAT dolphins are of a wanton and amorous nature, is declared as well by ancient history¹ as by recent narratives. For in the time of the Cæsars², as Apion has related, in the sea of Puteoli, and some ages before, off Naupactum, according to Theophrastus, certain dolphins were known and proved to be vehemently amorous. Neither were they thus attached to their own species, but in a wonderful manner, and like human beings, felt a passion for youths of an ingenuous appearance, whom they had seen in vessels or on the shore. I have subjoined the words of Apion³, a learned man, from his fifth book

¹ *Ancient history.*]—See in the first book of Herodotus the story of Arion, who was preserved by a dolphin, which seemed to receive delight from musical sounds.

² *Time of the Cæsars.*]—Pliny relates that this happened in the time of Augustus Cæsar, who lived the century before Gellius.

³ *Apion.*]—See Book v. chap. 14. the story of Androcles and the lion, related by this same Apion; who appears to have been, in every sense of the word, a story-teller. This tale has a pertinent parallel in Shakespeare, where Autolycus produces

book on Egyptian Affairs, in which he relates the intimacy, sport, and actions of an amorous dolphin, and of a youth not disliking it, affirming that he and many others witnessed this :

“ And I myself, near Dicæarchia, saw a dolphin who loved a youth, and who was obedient to his voice; for the fish when swimming, took the youth upon his back, and drew in his fins, that he might not wound him whom he loved: he then carried him, as if mounted on a horse, to the distance of two hundred stadia. Rome and all Italy were collected to see a fish acting thus from love.”

To this he adds what is no less wonderful.—“ Afterwards,” he continues, “ this boy beloved by the dolphin died from some disease: but the dolphin swimming, in his usual manner, frequently

produces a ballad for sale, “ Of a fish that appeared upon the coast on Wednesday the fourscore of April, forty thousand fathom above water, and sung this ballad against the hard hearts of maids.—It was thought she was a woman, and was turned into a cod fish, for she would not exchange flesh with one that loved her.—This ballad is very pitiful, and as true.”

See a similar story related by Pliny, Book ix. chap. 8. Some of the most beautiful antiques which have been preserved represent Cupids riding on the backs of dolphins.

The reader will find some whimsical things on the passion which some animals have entertained for men in the thirteenth book of Athenæus.—We are there told of a cock which was enamoured of an eunuch, of a sheep in love with a child, of a peacock in love with a young woman, which died when she died; lastly, the same author tells a tale of a dolphin entirely resembling the one recorded in the chapter before us.

to the shore, when he saw that the boy, who used to meet him on the first shoal, did not appear, languished and died also⁴; and being found on the shore by those who knew the circumstance, he was buried in the tomb of his favourite.⁵

⁴ *Died also.*]—Instances will probably occur to the recollection of the reader, of dogs who on the death of their masters have languished and died also.—The example of Argus in Homer, who expired from joy on seeing Ulysses, must doubtless be familiar.

Thus near the gates, conferring as they drew,
Argus, the dog, his ancient master knew ;
He, not unconscious of the voice and tread,
Lifts to the sound his ear, and rears his head.

He knew his lord,—he knew, and strove to meet,
In vain he strove to crawl and kiss his feet ;
Yet all he could, his tail, his ears, his eyes,
Salute his master, and confess his joys.

The dog, whom Fate had granted to behold
His lord, when twenty tedious years had roll'd,
Takes a last look, and having seen him, dies ;
So clos'd for ever faithful Argus' eyes.

C H A P. IX.

Many ancient writers used peposci, memordi, sppondi, and cecurri, *not as afterwards with o or u in the first syllable, but with e, according to the Greek usage. Moreover, many men, neither unlearned nor vulgar, from the verb descendo said not descendī, but descendidi.*

PEPOSCI, memordi, pepugi, cucurri, seem to be proper¹, and now almost all our learned men use words of this kind. But **Q.**

¹ *To be proper.*—What is noted in this chapter must unavoidably happen in all languages. Words which at one period are considered as elegant and proper will, in the progress of any language towards refinement, become obsolete and vulgar: yet the public taste is not in this respect always correct or just; caprice and fashion will often contradict and supersede the judgment, and words and expressions which have both force and beauty will grow into disuse without any adequate reason. This is certainly true, in the English and other languages.—Words occur in Shakespeare which have admirable effect, but the use of which would now be thought inelegant and improper. Here, however, the remark of Horace is pertinent:

Quid antem

Cæcilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum
Virgilio, Varoque.

Ita verborum vetus interit ætas
Et juvenum ritu florent modo nata, vigentque.

Ennius,

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 77

Ennius, in his Satires, wrote *memorderit* with an *e*, and not *momorderit*.—Thus he says,

Meum non est, at si me canis memorderit.

So also Laberius² in his Galli—De integro patrimonio meo centum millia nummum *memordi*. The same Laberius also, in his Colorator—Itaque levi pruna percoctus simul sub dentes mulieris veni, bis ter *memordit*. So P. Nigidius, in his second book of Annals—Serpens si *memordit*, gallina deligitur et opponitur. So Plautus, in his Aulularia—*Admemordit* hominem: But the same Plautus, in his Trigemini, said not *præmordisse*, nor *præmemordisse*, but *præmorsisse*, as

Ni fugissim medium credo *præmorsisset*.

Atta³ also, in his Conciliatrix—Ursus se memorisse autumat. Valerius Antias too, in his forty-fifth book of Annals, has said *peposci*, and not *poposci*.

Denique Licinius Tribunus Plebi perduellionis ei diem dixit et comitiis diem, a Q. Martio

² *Laberius, &c.*]—See Barthius, p. 400, where this play of Laberius is also quoted.

³ *Atta.*]—This is Quintius Atta the poet.—The name of Atta, according to Festus, was usually given to those who laboured under some defect in their feet, which disabled them from walking. This Atta is mentioned thus by Horace;

Recte necne crocum floresque perambulat Attæ
Fabula, si dubitem: clament periisse pudorem
Cuncti pene patres.

From this passage we may conclude that the writings of Atta, who indeed lived in the Augustan age, were very popular.

prætore

78 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

prætore *peposcit*. *Pepugero* is also used by Attæ, in his *Ædelicia*—Sed si *pepugero* metuet. Probus has remarked, that *Ælius Tubero*, in his book written to C. Oppius, used *occecurrerit*, and has given his words—Si generalis species *occecurrerit*. The same Probus has observed, that *Valerius Antias*, in his twelfth book of Histories, has written *speponderant*. He gives the passage thus—*Tiberius Gracchus qui quæstor C. Mancino in Hispaniæ fuerat et ceteri qui pacem speponderant*; but the reason of these words may seem to be this: As the Greeks, in one of the modifications of the præterite, namely the perfect præterite, often change into *e*, the second letter of the word, as γραφω γεγραφα, ποιω πεποιηκα, λαλω λελαληκα, κρατω κεκρατηκα, λεω λελεκα; so also, *mordeo memordi*, *posco peposci*, *tendo tetendi*, *tango tetigi*, *pungo pepugi*, *spondeo spepondi*, *curro cecurri*, *tollo tetuli*. *M. Tullius* and *C. Cæsar* have used *mordeo memordi*, *pungo pepugi*, and *spondeo spepondi*. Moreover, I find that from the word *scindo*, by similar reasoning, *fesciderat* is written, not *sciderat*. *L. Attius*, in his first book of *Sotadici*⁴, said *fesciderat*. These

⁴ *Sotadici*.]—This name was given to obscene poems, written in a particular metre.—They were so called from their inventor, *Sotades*, a poet of Thrace. The peculiarity of the verses was, that they might be read either way, without injury either to the metre or the sense, of which the following may serve as a specimen:

Si bene te tua laus taxat, sua laute tenebis.

are

are his words: *Non ergo aquila ita, uti prædicant scesciderat pectus.* Ennius⁵ also, and Valerius Antias, in his seventy-fifth book of Histories, has written thus: *Deinde furore locato ad forum descendidit.* Laberius also, in his Catularius, said

Ego mirabar quomodo mammæ mihi descendiderant.

⁵ *Ennius.*]—This passage is evidently corrupt, and some words without doubt are wanting.

CHAP. X.

Uſuſcapio is an entire word, and used in the nominative case. So also is pignorifſcapio.

AS *uſuſcapio* is used as an entire word, the letter *a* being made long, so *pignorifſcapio* is in like manner combined, and pronounced long.—These are the words of Cato, in his first book of Epistolary Questions:

“ *Pignorifſcapio* is a distinct word of itself, on account of the military pay which the soldier was accustomed to take from the pay-master tribune¹.”

From

¹ *Pay-master tribune.*]—This was an officer of inferior rank, and not improbably corresponding with the pay-master serjeants

From which it is evident that we may say
hanc capionem, as hanc captionem, both with re-
spect to usus and pignus.

C H A P. XI.

*The signification of “levitas” and “nequitia” is not
that which we usually give them.*

I UNDERSTAND that “levitas” is now gene-
rally used to signify inconstancy and mutability,
and “nequitia” for artifice and cunning. But they
among the ancients who spoke properly and cor-
rectly called those *leves* whom now we term vile,
and worthy of no esteem: *levitas* accordingly was
as *vilitas*, and *nequam* was applied to a man of no
character or consequence, whom the Greeks call
“an abandoned, loose, worthless, immoral, or
profligate person.” He who wishes for exam-
ples of these words, needs not go far, he will find
them in Cicero’s second Oration against Antony.
For when he was about to point out the extreme

serjeants of our troops. Though their rank seems to have
been inferior, yet the richer of the Plebeians were selected for
this office. Their importance seems to have been somewhat
diminished by Augustus, who added two hundred to their
number, in order to judge causes of more trifling moment.

meanness

meanness of the life and conduct of Antony, that he lingered in taverns, that he drank late, that he walked with his face covered that he might not be known: reproaching him with these and other things, he says, *videte hominis levitatem*; as if with this imputation he branded the man with all these marks of disgrace. Afterwards, when he was heaping upon the same Antony other sarcastical and opprobrious accusations, he adds this at the conclusion: “*Ob hominem nequam*; I can use no term more properly than this.” But from the same place I think it expedient to add more of Cicero’s words:

“ Observe the levity of the man,—about the tenth hour¹ of the day he came to the Red Rocks, and concealed himself in a certain tavern: here, shutting himself up, he drank till night; thence in his carriage he returned swiftly to the city, having his face covered². The porter says, Who

¹ *Tenth hour.*]—That is, two hours before sun-set.—*The Red Rocks* was a place betwixt Rome and Veii. See Livy, book the second. Here fell the family of Fabii. It is now called *Grotta Roffa*.

² *Face covered.*]—This expression gives us an insight into the private manners of the Romans. We learn that it was usual for people of both sexes, when they went abroad in the night, or upon any occasion, when they did not choose to be known, to hide their faces. This was probably done, not by wearing any distinct veil, but merely by drawing their toga over the face. Thus in Juvenal, *Messalina*, when visiting the brothels, is described as having her face concealed.

are you? A messenger from Marcus. He is then introduced to the lady, for whose sake he came, and gives her a letter. This she read with tears, for it was very amorously written: its substance was this, that in future he would have no connection with the actress: that he had taken all his love from one, and given it to the other. When the woman wept plentifully, the compassionate man could not bear it, he revealed his face, and threw himself on her neck. *O hominem nequam*³, for what epithet can I more properly apply? Therefore, that the woman might unexpectedly behold you as a hireling boy, you filled the city with nocturnal alarms, and spread for many days a terror through Italy."

In like manner also Q. Claudius, in his first book of Annals, called a luxurious life, and one licentious and profligate, *nequitiam*--"Persuading a certain young man, named Lucanus, who was of the very first rank, but who had wasted great wealth by luxury and *nequitia*."

M. Varro, in his book on the Latin tongue, says, "That as from *non* and *volo*, *nolo* is made, so from *ne* and *quicquam*, the middle syllable being taken away, *nequam* is formed."

³ *Nequam.*]—O worthless man! The word is combined from the two words *ne* and *quidquam*, as *nolo* is produced from *non* and *volo*.

The term *nequitia* seems generally to have implied a combination of luxury with voluptuousness. It is perhaps most frequently applied as expressive of amorous extravagance.

P. Africanus, speaking for himself before the Roman people, and concerning a fine, says,

“ All the evils, vices, and crimes which men commit, proceed from malice and profligacy. Which do you defend, malice, profligacy, or both? If you wish to defend profligacy, you may: but you have wasted more wealth upon one prostitute than you have given in to the censor as the value of the whole Sabine farm: who will wager a thousand sesterces that this is not so? But you have consumed more than a third part of your paternal inheritance on your vices: who will lay a thousand sesterces that it is not so? You will not then have profligacy, at least you will defend malice; but you willingly and deliberately have sworn in a precise form of words: who will venture a thousand sesterces that this is not so?”

CHAP. XII

Of the garments called chiridotæ—Publius Africanus reproved Sulpicius Gallus for wearing them.

IT was dishonourable¹ in Rome, and in all Latium, for a man to wear a vest which descended below his arms, to the extremity of his hands, near the fingers. Such vests our countrymen

¹ The Romans, like all other nations, when a small and humble people, were remarkable for the simplicity of their dress and manners. But as their power increased, and wealth multiplied, luxury stole in, and splendour and magnificence expelled neatness:—

Banish'd from man's life, his happiest life,
Simplicity and spotless innocence.

That these tunics with sleeves were at first reckoned effeminate, we learn from Cicero, and the passage from Virgil quoted in this chapter, which I subjoin at length from the 9th Æneid:

Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis,
Desidiae cordi, juvat indulgere choreis,
Et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae,
O vere Phrygiæ neque enim Phryges, &c.

Cicero also reproaches Catiline with exhibiting a like proof of degeneracy. These long sleeves, when first introduced, were plain and unadorned, but afterwards Julius Cæsar set the fashion of wearing them with fringes, probably in the manner of modern ruffles.

The

men call by a Greek name, Chirodotæ, and they thought that a long and flowing garment was proper for women only, protecting their arms and legs from sight. The Romans at first were cloathed without tunics, and with the toga only; afterwards they wore close and short tunics below the shoulders, which the Greeks call *εξωμιδας*. P. Africanus, the son of Paulus, a man accomplished in every good art and every virtue, among other things with which he reproached Sulpicius Gallus, an effeminate man, objected this also, that he wore vests which covered the whole of his hands². These are Scipio's words:

The writing the above note has brought to my recollection a phrase in our language, which seems no improper subject of enquiry in this place. When a person undertakes any thing which is mean or contemptible, we often say he has been upon a sleeveless busines. It should seem from some passages in Shakespeare, and the writers before him, that anciently in this country the sleeve was a mark of gentility. The similitude of which circumstance to the custom observed in ancient Rome, seems curious and remarkable.

* *Whole of his hands.*]—The use of gloves, or any covering for the hands, implies a considerable degree not only of refinement but effeminacy. I have taken some pains to find in what nation, and at what period, gloves were first introduced, but without success: they were certainly in use in this country at a very remote time, as appears from various passages in our oldest writers. It is a curious incident, though it must be confessed not altogether pertinent to the subject before us, that gloves were in this country worn in the hat, from three very different occasions—in memory of a friend, as a favour from a mistress, and as a mark of accepting a challenge.

“ For he who every day perfumes himself, and dresses by a looking-glass, whose eyebrows are shaved, and who without a beard walks with thighs also bare; who at entertainments, being a young man, resting below his lover with his *tunica chirodota*; who is not only fond of drink but of men; can any one doubt but that he does what catamites do ? ”

Virgil also reprobates vests of this kind as effeminate and disgraceful.

Et tunicæ manicas et habent redimicula mitræ.
Quintus Ennius also seems to have called the Carthaginian youth *tunicatam*, reproachfully.

C H A P. XIII.

*Whom M. Cato calls *classicus*, whom *infra classem*.*

THE term *classici*¹ was applied, not to all those who were *in classibus*, in the classes, but only to men of the first class, who were rated at a hundred and twenty thousand pounds of brass. The term *infra classem* was applied to all those of the second and under classes, who were rated at a sum less than that mentioned above. I have cursorily noticed this, because in the oration of M. Cato, in which he recommends the Voconian law², it is enquired what *classicus* is, and what *infra classem*.

* *Classici.*]—From this is derived our English word *classic*, which is applied precisely with the same meaning. The authors of most distinguished reputation in any language are denominated the *classics* in that language.

The term *classici*, it may be observed, was also applied by the Romans to the *nautæ*, *remiges*, or crew of a ship.

² *Voconian law.*]—This law is quoted by Cicero, in his second Oration against Verres. The name of the author was Voconius, and its object was to limit the fortunes that might be left to females. The law was annulled by Augustus.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the three kinds of eloquence, and of the three philosophers sent on an embassy by the Athenians to the Roman Senate.

BOTH in verse and prose there are three approved forms of speaking, called by the Greeks *χαρακτῆρες*, and distinguished by the terms *αδρον*, *ισχυον*, *μεσον*. The first we call *copious*¹,
the

¹ *Copious.*]—See the animadversions of H. Stephens, at this passage, in his edition of Gellius: *αδρος*, which is here interpreted copious, means also magnificent; *ισχυος* means not only graceful but acute; *μεσος* is not merely that which is middle, but that which is mixed and moderate.

Dr. Blair, in his Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres, has entered very diffusely on the subject of style; and I refer the reader to him, rather than to any other modern writer, because he has made it more particularly his business to investigate this subject, and illustrate it by comparing modern with ancient writers.

This division of style is made also by Dionysius of Halicarnassus; he calls these three kinds the austere, the florid, and the middle.

A dissertation upon style would here be impertinent: perhaps, after all, it is absurd to lay down any precise rules for the formation of style.

First follow nature, and your judgment frame
By her just standard, which is still the same;

Unerring

the next *graceful*, the third *middle*. The copious is that which comprehends dignity and grandeur ; the graceful is that which is becoming and neat ; the middle is partaker of both these. To these virtues of oratory there are an equal number of kindred defects, which fallaciously assume their dress and appearance. Thus often the tumid and the pompous pass for the “ copious,” the mean and the empty for the “ graceful,” the doubtful and the ambiguous for the “ middle.” M. Varro says, that in the Latin tongue there are three true and pertinent examples of these forms ; namely, Pacuvius of the copious, Lucilius of the graceful, Terence of the middle². But these three modes

Unerring nature, still divinely bright,
One clear, unchang'd, and universal light,
Life, force, and beauty must to all impart,
At once the source, and end, and test of art.

² *Terence of the middle.*]—The Fragments of Pacuvius are found first in H. Stephens *Fragmenta Poetarum*, afterwards in Mattaire's *Corpus Poetarum*. From these fragments we cannot easily be inclined to assent to the judgment here passed on Pacuvius by Gellius ; for indeed they seem to possess neither elegance nor purity. But we are certainly not qualified to judge ; and when we consider what Quintilian says, in addition to the opinion of Gellius, we may with the less reluctance admit it to be true. “ *Tragœdiæ scriptores (I am quoting Quintilian) Accius atque Pacuvius clarissimi, gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere, et auctoritate personarum* ;” than which an higher character cannot well be given.

90 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

modes of speaking are more anciently specified by Homer in three distinct personages: Ulysses³ was magnificent and copious, Menelaus acute and concise, Nestor mixed and moderate. This threefold variety was also observable in three philosophers whom the Athenians sent on an embassy to Rome and the Senate, to remit the fine imposed upon them on account of the plundering Oropus. This fine was almost five hundred talents. These philosophers were, Carneades of the Academy, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic; and being admitted into the Se-

Of Lucilius, Quintilian remarks, that there are some who prefer him to all other writers: “*Non ejusdem modo operis auctoribus sed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent.*” Horace, on the contrary, does not speak in terms of high respect of Lucilius; Horace thinks his style heavy and dull. But Quintilian, giving his own opinion, speaks of him in these terms: “*Eruditio in eo mira et libertas, atque inde acerbitas et abunde salis.*” Terence is too well known to require my suffrage in his favour; his great charm is simplicity, his great defect want of point and energy.

³ *Ulysses, &c.*]—The different excellence of speaking, as possessed by these three eminent characters of antiquity, is thus described by Ausonius:

Priscos ut et heroes olim
Carmine Homeri commemoratos,
Fando referres;
Dulcem in paucis ut Plisthenidem.
Et torrentis ceu Dulichii
Ninguida dicta;
Et mellitæ nectare vocis
Dulcia fatu' verba canentem,
Nestora regem.

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 91

nate, they employed C. Acilius, a senator, as their interpreter. But previously each of these, by way of displaying his abilities, had harangued in a numerous assembly. Then it is said that Rutilius and Polybius greatly admired the eloquence which was peculiar to each philosopher. They affirm that the oratory of Carneades was strong and rapid, that of Critolaus learned and polished, of Diogenes modest and temperate. But each of these forms, as I have before observed, when its ornaments are chaste and modest, is excellent, when daubed and painted it is contemptible.

CHAP. XV.

The severity with which thieves were punished by the ancients.—What Mutius Scævola has written on what is given or entrusted to the care of any one¹,

LABEO, in his second book on the Twelve Tables, has said, that among the ancients severe and extreme punishments were inflicted upon

* The penal laws of the Romans seem in many respects to have been borrowed of the Athenians, particularly in what related to theft. He who was taken in the act of theft during the night was punished with death. In the day-time also, if he had a weapon and presumed to defend himself, a thief was liable to the same penalty.

The right of the original proprietor to what had been stolen from him did not cease till after a period of thirty years, although in this interval the property should have passed through the hands of various masters.

To this Labeo, Gellius has been more than once indebted. See Book xx. chap. 1.

According to the Mosaic law, he who removed his neighbour's land-mark was accounted accursed; but we are not told whether it was distinguished between him who committed this crime from motives of wantonness and malice, and the man who had intentions of committing theft. It will not here be forgotten, that by the laws of Lycurgus theft was permitted, with the idea that encouraging boldness and dexterity was of greater service to the state than the purloining a few

on thieves; and that Brutus used to say that he was condemned as guilty of theft who led cattle astray from the place where he was sent, or who had kept it longer than the distance of his errand required. Q. Scævola, therefore, in his sixteenth book on the Civil Law, has these words: “Whoever applied to his own use that which was entrusted to his care, or, receiving any thing for a particular purpose, applied it to a different one, was liable to the charge of theft.”

a few trifles could be of detriment to individuals. In this, as in all other vices, there are doubtless gradations of guilt; and it may be said properly with Horace,

Nec vincet ratio hæc, tantundem ut peccat idemque
Qui teneros cautes alieni fregerit horti,
Et qui nocturnos divum sacra legerit.

Or, in fewer words, stealing a cabbage is not surely so great a crime as sacrilege.

CHAP. XVI.

*Passage from Marcus Varro's satire, called πεπις
εδεσματων. Some verses of Euripides, in which
he ridicules the extravagant appetite of luxurious
men.*

VARRO, in the satire which he wrote concerning things to be eaten, describes in some verses, written with much facetiousness and skill, the exquisite delicacies of food and entertainments¹. He has produced and described in hexameters most of these things which these gluttons

¹ The luxury of entertainments among the ancients is most successfully ridiculed by Horace, in the second satire of the second book, which has been most ably paraphrased by Pope. Some of the best lines are these which follow; which do not seem in this place impertinent:

Now hear what blessings temperance can bring—
Thus said our friend, and what he said I sing—
First health; the stomach cramm'd from every dish,
A tomb of boil'd and roast, and flesh and fish,
Where bile, and wind, and phlegm, and acid jar,
And all the man is one intestine war;
Remembers oft the school-boy's simple fare,
The temperate sleeps, and spirits light as air.

Which two last lines it is not improbable but Gray might have in his mind when, describing a school-boy, he says,

The spirits pure, the slumbers light,
Which fly th' approach of morn.

Much

tons hunt for both by sea and land. The verses to which I allude, whoever has leisure may find in the above-mentioned book. As well as I can remember, the kinds and names of eatables, and the places where these dainties, superior to all others, are found, which an inordinate gluttony has hunted out, and which Varro has in his satire reprobated, are these which follow :

A peacock from Samos², a woodcock³ from

Much also, which relates to the luxury and extravagance displayed by the ancients in feasts, may be gathered from Athenæus.

² *Peacock from Samos.*]—The peacock was esteemed a great delicacy by the Romans. Horace thus ridicules it :

Vix tamen eripiam posito pavone velis, quin
Hoc potius quam gallina, tergere palatum
Corruptus vanis rerum, quia veneat auro
Rara avis et picta pandat spectacula cauda.

Which Pope thus imitates :

I doubt our curious men
Will choose a pheasant still before a hen;
Yet hens of Guinea full as good I hold,
Except you eat the feathers green and gold.

A great deal is said concerning the peacock, and the estimation in which it was anciently held, in the fourteenth book of Athenæus. The peacock was sacred to Juno, and said to have been first produced in Samos, in the temple of that goddess, and thence propagated through the world.

³ *Woodcock.*]—This was another delicate article of food, as with us, and is highly commended in Horace, Martial, and Athenæus. In this latter author, a fragment of Hippo-nax forbids the eating either of woodcock or hare.

Phrygia, cranes⁴ from Melos, a kid⁵ from Ambracia, a tunny⁶ from Chalcedon, a lamprey from Tartessus, codfish from Pessinus, oysters from Tarentum, cockles from Chios, and elops⁷

⁴ *Cranes.*]—These are also mentioned among the delicacies of the table by Horace and Pliny.

⁵ *Kid.*]—The following passage from Athenæus requires a place here: “ Many of the guests extolled in very high terms the lampreys and eels of Sicily, the bellies of dolphins taken near Cape Pachinus, the kids of the isle of Melos, the mullets of Simothus; and, among other less important delicacies, oysters from Cape Pelorus, pilchards from Liparos, cresses from Thebes, and beet from Afina.”

Melos is now called Milo, or, according to Savary, Mile; it is described at great length by Tournefort, who also mentions the excellence of its kids:

“ All the productions of the island are of incomparable excellence. Its partridges, quails, kids, and lambs, are in high estimation, yet extremely cheap.”

Ambracia is a town of Epirus.

⁶ *Tunny.*]—This was a younger fish of the tunny kind. See Pliny: “ Limosæ a luto pelamides incipiunt vocari, et cum annum excessere tempus, thynnus.”

See also Athenæus.

When it first begins to encrease in size the pelamys is called thynnus, in its next state orcyrus, in its largest it is a whale.

⁷ *Elops.*—I am by no means able to discover what fish is here meant; it is nevertheless mentioned by various Latin writers. It is I believe sometimes called acipenser, which has been called in English a sturgeon. See the Halieuticon of Ovid:

Et pretiosus helops nostris incognitus undis.

In a fragment of Lucilius it is also called præclarus elops.

from Rhodes, char⁸ from Cilicia, nuts from Thasus⁹, palm from Ægypt¹⁰, acorns of Hiberia¹¹.

But

* *Char.*]—This was a great favourite with the Roman epicures; and it is related of Augustus, that as this fish was not found in the Italian seas, he imported a great many from the coasts of Asia Minor, giving orders that whoever, for three years, should presume to fish for them should be drowned.

Consult, on the subject of the fishes of the ancients, the seventh book of Athenæus, where, among other things, we are told, on the authority of Seleucus of Tarsus, that the scarus is the only fish which never sleeps: in Athenæus the scarus of Ephesus is recommended.

9 *Nuts from Thasus.*]—Much is said in the second book of Athenæus, on the subject of nuts, and the nuts of Persia are particularly recommended. *Nux* is by itself a generic name, the species of which is ascertained only by an epithet. It is not easy, therefore, to say whether any or what particular species is to be understood by the nuts of Thasus, the Persian nuts, &c. *Nux* by itself seems generally to mean a walnut-tree, for the nuts used at weddings, and thrown among children, are known to have been walnuts.

10 *Palm from Ægypt.*]—In opposition to this, Strabo affirms, that the palms of Ægypt are mean and bad, except in the Thebaid alone. Galen says, that the finest palms are produced in Judæa, in the vale of Jericho. In the 24th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, the palm of Engaddi and the rose of Jericho are celebrated: “I was exalted like a palm-tree in Engaddi, and as a rose-plant in Jericho.”

Upon this subject of the palm-tree I have written before at some length, in my notes to the translation of Herodotus, Vol. I. and to this work I beg leave to refer the reader.

11 *Acorns of Hiberia.*]—*Glans* seems to have been used among the Romans in the same sense that we use mast. Thus the fruit of the beech is called *glans*: “*Fagi glans nuclei simili*,”

98 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

But we shall think this industry of the appetite, wandering about and searching for new and unaccustomed juices, and hunting them in every quarter of the earth, still more detestable, if we have in mind the verses of Euripides. These verses Chrysippus the philosopher frequently applied, as if a certain irritable lust of eating was to be obtained, not for the necessary uses of life, but through the luxuriousness of a mind loathing what was to be easily got, from a certain wantonness of satiety. I subjoin the lines of Euripides ¹²:

What can man need but these two things, the
fruits

Which Ceres yields, and the refreshing spring,
Ever

milis," says Pliny. But, strictly speaking, it means only such fruits as contain only one seed, which is covered at the lower part with a husk, and is naked at the upper part: thus the fruit of an oak, which we commonly call an acorn, is properly a *glans*. " *Glandem*," says Pliny, " *quæ proprie intelligitur, ferunt robur, quercus, esculus, cerrus, ilex suber.*"

Martyn.

The acorn then was doubtless the production of some species of oak; but it seems difficult to imagine in what manner it could possibly be prepared to gratify the palate of a Roman, in the luxurious times of that empire.

Iberia is mentioned by Horace as being fruitful in poisons:

Herbasque quas Iolcos, atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum ferax.

¹² *Lines of Euripides.*]—This is a fragment of the *Æo-*
lus of Euripides; and I have used the translation of Wod-
hull.

Ever at hand, by bounteous nature given
To nourish us? We from the plenty rise
Dissatisfied, and yielding to the allurements
Of luxury, search out for other viands.

Concerning the articles of food enumerated in this chapter, the following circumstances may properly enough be added:

Apicius says, “*Isicia de pavo primum locum habent.*” The real meaning of *isicium* it may not be easy to determine; from its etymology it probably means a kind of sausage.

The same Apicius describes with what sauce the *attagena* should be dressed and eaten.

The *grus* was understood to be what an Englishman would term very hearty food, it was put upon the table with a great variety and multitude of sauces, and was decorated, as is with us sometimes customary to send up pheasants. “*Grudem,*” says Apicius, “*lavas, ornas et includis in olla.*” *Includere in olla*, signifies to pot any thing.

See in Apicius, Book viii. chap. 6. various directions for dressing a kid or lamb.

The *pelamys* was also considered as strong food, and required a long time and considerable pains to make it tender.

The *murena* was always esteemed as one of the greatest delicacies of the table: Columella says, “*Jam celebres erant deliciae popinales cum a mari deferrentur vivaria quorum studiosissimi velut ante devictarum gentium Numantinus et Isauricus: ita Sergius orata et Licinius murena captorum piscium lætabantur vocabulis.*”

The fish *asellus*, according to Varro, was so named from its resemblance in colour to an ass. The *asellus* is probably what we call a haddock.

Athenæus relates, that when the emperor Trajan was carrying on war against the Parthians, and at a great distance from the sea, he was delighted and surprised at receiving some fresh oysters from Apicius.

C H A P. XVII.

*Conversation with an ignorant and insolent grammarian, on the meaning of the word obnoxius—Origin of this word.*¹

I ENQUIRED at Rome of a certain grammarian, of the first celebrity as a teacher, not indeed for the sake of trying him, but really from a desire of knowledge, what was the meaning of the word *obnoxius*, and what was the nature and origin of the word. He, looking at me, as if ridiculing the trifling insignificance of the question,—“ You ask,” says he, “ a very obscure question, and what requires great pains to investigate. Who is so ignorant of the Latin tongue as not to know that he is called *obnoxius*, who in any respect can be incommoded and injured by him to whom he is said to be *obnoxius*, and has any one conscious *suæ noxæ*, that is of his fault? But rather,” he continued, “ put aside these trifles, and introduce somewhat worthy of investigation and argument.” On this, I, being moved, thought

¹ It is obvious that the word *obnoxius* is used by the best Latin writers in a variety of senses; and it must be acknowledged, as Quintus Carolus observes, that Gellius in this chapter has not thrown much more light upon the subject than the grammarian whom he points out to ridicule.

that

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 107

that I ought to dissemble, as with a foolish fellow—" With respect to other things, most learned Sir, which are more abstruse and profound, if I shall want to learn and know them, when occasion shall require, I shall doubtless come to you for instruction ; but as I have often used the word *obnoxius*, and knew not its proper meaning, I have enquired and learned from you, what indeed not only I, as it seems to you, did not comprehend, but it should seem that Plautus also, a man of the first eminence for his knowledge of verbal nicety and elegance in the Latin tongue, did not know what *obnoxius* meant. There is a verse in his *Stichus*², of this kind:

Nunc ego hercle perii plane, *non obnoxie* ;

which by no means accords with the interpretation you have given me ; for Plautus has brought together, as opposite to one another, the two words *plane* and *obnoxie*, which is very remote from your explanation." But this grammarian foolishly enough, and as if *obnoxius* and *obnoxie* differed, not only in declension but in effect and meaning, " I," said he, " observed, what *obnoxius* was, and not *obnoxie*." Then I, astonished at the

² *Stichus.*]—A comedy called *Stichus*.

The translators of Plautus have not noticed the contrast betwixt *plane* and *obnoxie* in this quotation, but have rendered it—" I am a dead man, plain, out of doubt." The meaning of *obnoxie*, according to the commentators on this passage, is, I am a dead man, and my fate is not subject to any one's will.

ignorance of this conceited man, replied, “ We will pass over then, if you please, that Plautus has used the word *obnoxie*, if you think this foreign from the purpose. We will also not mention what Sallust has said in his Catiline, *Minari etiam ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret*, but you shall explain to me what is more common and familiar. These verses from Virgil are very well known :

Nam neque tunc³ astris acies obtusa videri
Nec fratris radiis *obnoxia* surgere luna.

Which you say is *conscium suæ culpæ*. Virgil also, in another place, uses this word very differently from your opinion, thus—

Juvat arva videre⁴

Non rastris hominum, non ulli *obnoxia* curæ.

For care is generally beneficial to fields and not injurious, which is your explanation of *obnoxius*.

³ *Nam neque tunc, &c.*]—Thus rendered by Martyn:

“ For then the light of the stars does not seem dim, nor does the moon seem to rise as if indebted to her brother’s beams.”

And thus by Dryden—

The stars shine *smarter*, and the moon adorns,
As with unborrow’d beams, her sharpen’d horns.

⁴ *Juvat arva, &c.*]—Thus rendered by Martyn—

“ It is delightful to see fields that are not obliged to have rows, or any care of man.”

Thus by Dryden—

But much more pleasing are these fields to see,
That need not ploughs nor human industry.

How too can that which Ennius has written in his Phænices agree with what you say :

Sed virum⁵ vera virtute vivere animatum ad-
debet,
Fortiterque *innoxium* vacare adversum ad-
versarios ;
Ea liberta' est, qui pectus purum et firmum
gestitat,
Aliæ res obnoxiosæ nocte in obscura latent."

But he, hesitating, and like one perplexed, replies, "I have not time now, when I have, you shall come and see me again, and shall know what Virgil, Sallust, Plautus, and Ennius meant by this word;" saying this, the stupid fellow departed. If any one shall choose to examine, not only the origin of the word, but also its meaning and variety, let him refer to this passage, which I transcribe from the *Asinaria* of Plautus :

Maxumas⁶ opimitates gaudio effertissimas

⁵ *Sed virum.*]—These lines may perhaps be thus translated
It becomes a man of spirit to live with real courage,
and an innocent man to bear up boldly against his adversaries.
He who has an upright and courageous heart has this liberty,
other viler things are concealed in darkness.

⁶ *Maxumas.*]—Thus rendered by the translators of *Plau-
tus*—

Plenty of good things he and I shall heap
Upon his masters, both the son and father,
Who for this kindness ever will remain
Bound to us in the strictest bands.

Suis heris ille una mecum pariet gnatoque et
patri,
Adeo ut ætatem ambo ambobus nobis sint *ob-*
noxii
Nostro devincti beneficio.

With respect to the definition which this grammarian gave, this, in a word of such various application, seems to have marked one use of it only; which agrees indeed with the signification given it by Cæcilius in his *Chrysius*. This is the passage :

Quamquam ego⁷ mercede hac conductus tua
Advenio, ne tibi me esse ob eam rem *obnoxium*
Reare: audibis male si male dixis mihi.

⁷ *Quamquam ego.*]—“ Although I came here expecting to be paid by you, you must not on that account think that I am wholly subject to you. If you speak ill of me, you will be ill spoken of in return.”

The word *obnoxious* also, in English, is used in different senses. We call any one offending *obnoxious*, both as he is unworthy in himself, and subject to punishment.

CHAP. XVIII.*

*Religious observance of an oath among the Romans—
Of the ten captives whom Hannibal sent to Rome,
taking from them an oath to return.*

THAT an oath was held to be sacred and inviolable among the Romans, appears from their manners, and from many laws; and what I am going to relate is also no small proof of it. After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, sent ten prisoners, selected from our countrymen, to Rome, and commanded and agreed with them, that if the Roman people ap-

* On the subject of this chapter see Gellius again, Book xx. chap. i.

Mr. Gibbon, speaking of the integrity of the ancient Romans, thus expresses himself:

“ The goddess of faith (*of human and social faith*) was worshipped not only in her temples but in the lives of the Romans; and if that nation was deficient in the more amiable qualities of benevolence and generosity, they astonished the Greeks by their sincere and simple performance of the most burthensome engagements.”—The story of Regulus will here present itself to the reader; and many examples of the strict adherence of the Romans to their engagements, may be found in Valerius Maximus, Book vi. The form of the solemn oath among the Romans I have given in Vol. I. p. 80. With respect to the evasion here recorded, there can be but one opinion—it is an example of meanness and perfidy.

proved

proved it, there should be an exchange of prisoners, and that for those, which either should happen to have more than the other, a pound of silver should be paid. Before they went, he compelled them to take an oath to return to the Carthaginian camp, if the Romans would not exchange prisoners. The ten captives came to Rome; they explained in the senate the message of the Carthaginian commander. The exchange was not agreeable. The parents, relations, and friends of the captives embraced them; assured them they were now effectually restored to their country, that their situation was independent and secure, and entreated them by no means to think of returning to the enemy. Then eight of them replied, that this restoration to their country was by no means just, since they were bound by an oath to return; and immediately, according to this oath, they went back to Hannibal. The other two remained in Rome, asserting that they were free, and delivered from the obligation of their oath, since, when they had left the enemy's camp, they had, with a deceitful intention, returned on the same day, as if on some accidental occasion, and so, having satisfied their oath, they departed free from its obligation. But this their fraudulent evasion was deemed so base, that they were despised and reproached by the common people, and the censors afterwards branded them with disgraceful marks of every kind, since they had not done that, which they had sworn to do.

OF AULUS NIGHTS. 107

do. Cornelius Nepos, in his fifth book of Examples, has also recorded that many of the senate were of opinion, that they who refused to return should be taken into custody and sent back to Hannibal; but this opinion was set aside, as not agreeable to the majority. But those men who did not return to Hannibal became so very odious and infamous, that, ~~being wearied of life,~~ they destroyed themselves.

CHAP. XIX.

History taken from the Annals concerning Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, father of the Gracchi, tribune of the people; with the form of words used by the tribunes in their decrees.

HERE is recorded a noble, generous and magnanimous action of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. It is as follows: Caius Minucius Augurinus, a tribune of the people, imposed a fine upon L. Scipio Asiaticus, brother of P. Scipio Africanus the elder; and on this account called upon him to produce his securities. Scipio Africanus, in the name of his brother, appealed to the college of tribunes, entreating them to defend a man of consular rank, who had triumphed, from the violence of their colleague. Eight of the tribunes, after investigating the matter, made a decree, the words of which I have added, as they appear written in the monuments of the Annals:

QUOD. P. SCIPIO. AFRICANUS¹. POSTULAVIT.
PRO. L. SCIPIONE. ASIATICO. FRATRE. QUUM.
CONTRA.

¹ *Quod P. Scipio Africanus.*]—I thus translate the decree—Publius Scipio Africanus, in the name of his brother, Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, has represented, that the tribune of the people, contrary to the laws and customs of our ancestors,

CONTRA. LEGES. CONTRA. Q. MOREM. MAJORUM.
 TRIBUNUS. PLEBEI. HOMINIBUS. ACCITIS. PER.
 VIM. IN AUSPICATO. SENTENTIAM. DE. EO. TULE-
 RIT. MULTAM. Q. NULLO. EXEMPL. IRROGARIT.
 PRÆDES. Q. OB. EAM. REM. DARE. COGAT. AUT.
 SI. NON. DET. IN. VINCULA. DUCI. JUBEAT. UT.
 EUM. A. COLLEGÆ. VI. PROHIBEAMUS. ET. QUOD.
 CONTRA. COLLEGA. POSTULAVIT. NE. SIBI. IN-
 TERCEDAMUS. QUO. MINUS. SUAPTE. POTESTA-
 TE. UTI. LICEAT. DE. EA. RE. NOSTRUM. SENTEN-

ancestors, having by undue means collected a multitude together, has imposed a fine upon him, for which there exists no precedent. He has exacted securities from him; on his refusal to produce which, he has commanded that he should be imprisoned. He has entreated our protection from the violence of our colleague; who, on the contrary, has entreated that we should not interfere with his exercise of his just authority.

The opinion given on this subject in common by us all, is this—If Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus will give to our colleague the securities required, we will intercede to prevent his being committed to prison.—If he shall refuse to give the securities required, we will by no means obstruct our colleague in the exercise of his authority.”

The same fact is related in Livy, Book xxxviii. c. 60. and every thing which the Roman law involves, illustrative of the question here discussed, is to be seen in Heineccius, p. 677, 678, and 679.

The story of Scipio was this—He was reported to have been bribed by Antiochus to grant him favourable terms of peace at the sum of six thousand pounds weight of gold, and four hundred and eighty thousand pounds weight of silver. He was called upon by the tribune to account for this, or submit to such penalties as his official authority enabled him to impose.

110 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

TIA . OMNIUM . DATA . EST . SI . L. CORNELIUS .
SCIPIO . ASIATICUS . COLLEGÆ . ARBITRATU .
PRÆDES . DABIT . COLLEGÆ . NE . ÆUM . IN . VINCU-
LA . DUCAT . INTERCEDEMUS . SI . EJUS . ARBI-
TRATU . PRÆDES . NON . DABIT . QUO . MINUS . COL-
LEGA . SUA . POTESTATE . UTATUR . NON . INTER-
CEDEMUS .

After this decree, when Augurinus, the tribune of the people, commanded L. Scipio, not giving securities, to be seized and led to prison, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a tribune of the people, and father of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, who, from various disputes respecting the commonwealth, was a violent enemy to P. Scipio Africanus, publicly avowed that no reconciliation had taken place betwixt him and P. Africanus. He then thus recited a decree from his tablet. The words of which were these :

CUM . L. CORNELIUS . SCIPIO .² ASIATICUS .
TRIUMPHANS . HOSTIUM . DUCES . IN . CARCEREM .
CONJECTAVERIT .

² *Cum Lucius C. Scipio.*—In English thus: “Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus having obtained the honour of a triumph, and thrown the leaders of the enemy into prison, it seemed inconsistent with the dignity of the republic to commit a general of the Roman people to that place where the leaders of the enemies had been by him confined. Therefore I use my interposition to save Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus from the violence of my colleague.”

The interposition of Gracchus availed but only for the present moment. The invidious business was afterwards resumed; and though it appeared that all the effects and property

OF AULUS GELLIUS. III

CONJECTAVERIT. ALIENUM. VIDETUR. ESSE. DIG-
NITATE. REIPUBLICÆ. IN. EUM. LOCUM. IMPERA-
TOREM. POPULI. ROMANI. DUCI. IN. QUEM.
LOCUM. AB. EO. CONJECTI. SUNT. DUCES. HOS-
TIUM. ITA. Q. L. CORNELIUM. SCIPIONEM.
ASIATICUM. A. COLLEGÆ. VI. PROHIBEO.

But Valerius Antias, contrary to this record of the decrees, and against the authority of the Ancient Annals, has affirmed, that this intercession made by Tiberius Gracchus in favour of Scipio Asiaticus, was after the death of Scipio Africanus: He adds, that no fine was imposed upon Scipio; but that, being condemned for peculation with respect to the money of Antiochus, on his not giving security, he was ordered to be sent to prison, from which he was delivered by the intercession of Gracchus.

property of Scipio were not of sufficient value to satisfy the fine which had been imposed, yet every thing he had was sold. A striking proof how transient is the gale of public favour, though obtained, as in the case before us, by real and important services.

C H A P. XX.

That Virgil, because he was refused water by the inhabitants of Nola, erased the word “*Nola*” from his verse, and inserted “*Ora* ;” with other pleasant observations on the harmonious sound of letters.

I HAVE found in some commentaries, that these verses were originally recited and edited by Virgil thus,

Talem¹ dives arat Capua et vicina Vesefo
Nola jugo.

Afterwards Virgil requested of the people of Nola permission to introduce water into his neighbouring farm. The Nolani would not grant the favour which was asked; the poet being offended, erased the name of their city from his poem, as if it were the same as erasing it from the memory of man. He changed Nola into Ora, and so left it.

—et vicina Vesefo
Ora jugo.

¹ *Talem.*]—Such a soil is ploughed about rich Capua, and the country of Nola, which lies near mount Vesuvius.

This probably is like many other old stories, for it is very evident that Gellius gives it no great degree of credit.

I am

I am at no pains to prove whether this be true or false ; but it certainly cannot be doubted, but that Ora is more agreeable, and more harmonious to the ear than Nola. For the same vowel ending the syllable of the former verse, and beginning the verse which follows, together form a combination of sound, which is at the same time full and harmonious. Many examples of this kind of harmony may be found in the best poets, which appear to be the effect not of accident but art ; but they occur far more frequently in Homer than in any other. In one passage, these as it were disjointed sounds he brings together in many words :

‘*Η δ' ἐτέρη θερεῖ προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζη*
 ‘*Η χιόνη ψυχρῆ ἢ εξ ὕδατος πρυσταλλω.*

Thus also in another place—

Λᾶαν ἄνω ὠθεσκε ποτὶ λόφου.

Catullus in like manner, the most elegant of poets, says,

Minister² vetuli puer Falerni
 Inger, mi calices amariores,

Ut

* *Minister, &c.*]—The lines from Catullus I insert at length.

Minister vetuli puer Falerni
 Inger, mi calices amariores,
 Ut lex Postumiæ jubet magistræ,
 Ebriosa acina ebriosioris ;
 At vos quo lubet hinc abite lymphæ,
 Vini pernicies, et ad severos
 Migrare: hic merus est Thyonianus.

Ut lex Postumiæ jubet magistræ,
Ebriosæ acina ebriosioris.

When he might have said both *ebriosus*, and, what is more common, have used *acinum* in the neuter gender. But being partial to this harmony of the Homeric disjunction, he used *ebriosæ*, from the similar agreement of the vowel immediately following. They who think that Catullus wrote *ebrios*, or *ebriosos*, for this latter absurd reading has also appeared, have met with books doubtless composed from very corrupt copies.

Thus imperfectly attempted in English—

Boy, who the rosy bowl dost pass,
Fill up to me the largest glafs,
The largest glafs, and oldeſt wine,
The laws of drinking give as mine :
Still muſt my ever-thirſty lip
From large and flowing bumpers ſip.
Ye limpid ſtreams, where'er ye flow,
Far hence to water-drinkers go,
Go to the dull and the ſedate,
And fly the god whose bowers you hate.

C H A P. XXI.

Why quoad vivet and quoad morietur express the same point of time, though the expression is taken from two contrary facts¹.

WHEN the terms *quoad vivet* and *quoad morietur* are used, they appear to be expressive of two contrary things, but both terms indicate one and the same point of time. In like manner when it is said *quoad senatus habebitur*, and *quoad senatus dimittetur*, although the words *haberi* and *dimitte* are opposite, yet one and the same thing is expressed by both. For when two periods of time are opposite to each other, and yet so approximate that the termination of the one is confounded with the beginning of the other, it is of no consequence whether the confine be demonstrated by the extremity of the former, or the beginning of the latter.

¹ The same mode of expression prevails in our own and probably in all other languages. "Whilst I live and till I die," though the mode of expression is taken from the two contraries of life and death, communicate the same idea.

C H A P. XXII.

That the censors¹ were accustomed to take away their horses from such knights as were too fat and corpulent.—Enquiry made whether this is done with disgrace of the knights, or without any diminution of their dignity.

THE censors were accustomed to take away the horse from a man too fat and corpulent, thinking such ill calculated to perform the duty of a knight, with the weight of so large a body. But this was no punishment, as some suppose, but they were suspended without ignominy from their duty: yet Cato, in the oration which he wrote, *De sacrificio commisso*, alledges this matter in the form of an accusation, so as to make it appear to have been ignominious. If

* The power of the censors has been spoken of in various places. And this seems very properly to have been exercised on the equites or knights, whose duty it was to serve on horseback; yet the term of eques or knight was not given indiscriminately to all those who served on horseback. The censor chose a certain number into the equestrian order; he gave them, when he did this, a gold ring and a horse, which was paid for by the public. He consequently was justified in reprobating the misuse or neglect of that, which was in fact the public property.

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 117

you take it thus, it may be presumed that he did not appear entirely blameless, or free from indolence, whose body had luxuriously swelled to so inordinate a size ².

² An old Latin epigram mentions, among the qualities of a good man, a diligent care not to become too fat.

Justo trutinæ se examine pendit

Ne quid hiet, ne quid protuberet, angulus æquis
Partibus ut coeat, nil ut deliret amussis, &c.

See Burman's Latin Anthology, vol. ii. 417.

B O O K . VIII.¹

C H A P . I.

Whether the phrase hesterna noctu² is proper or not.—What is the grammatical tradition concerning these words.—The decemviri³, in the Twelve Tables, used nox for noctu.

C H A P .

² We have in this book one of those lamentable chasms which modern ingenuity cannot supply. It seems singular enough, that the heads of the chapters only should remain to us; but these are of sufficient importance to make us sincerely regret the loss we have sustained in the original chapters to which they belong.

It is reasonable to presume, that many peculiarities of the Latin tongue were here explained by Gellius, many beauties pointed out, and many circumstances of the private and domestic manners of the Romans familiarly and agreeably discussed.

³ *Hesterna noctu.*]—See Macrobius, L. i. Saturnal. c. 4. This author, who was accustomed to borrow, without much ceremony of acknowledgment, from Gellius, may perhaps, in some degree, supply the loss of this chapter.

³ *Decemviri.*]—See Macrobius, in the place before quoted: “Decemviri in Duodecim Tabulis inusitate nox pro noctu dixerunt.

dixerunt. Verba hæc sunt: **SEI, NOX FURTUM FACTUM
ESIT SEI IM ACCISIT IOURE CAISUS ESTO.** The meaning of which decree is, if an act of theft be committed in the night, and the thief be killed, he is lawfully killed. Here *nox* is evidently used for *noctu*. Theft by the Mosaic law was punished by a fine; and it was not till some considerable degree of refinement prevailed in society, that the crime of theft was punished by death. Some admirable remarks upon the punishment which ought to be inflicted for theft, are to be found in the Marquis Beccaria; Blackstone also has some excellent observations on this subject, from which it may be concluded that he was no friend to extreme and sanguinary punishments.

Mr. Gibbon, with great justice, reprobates the severity of the Twelve Tables:

“ The Twelve Tables afford a more decisive proof of the national spirit, since they were framed by the wisest of the senate, and accepted by the free voice of the people; yet these laws, like the statutes of Draco, are written in characters of blood.”

The French, after their revolution, professed to enact a penal code that was to give a great example to mankind of mildness and philanthropy. But such is the versatile character of that people, that on the first solemn occasion which presented itself, they violated their own principles by the unexampled and unprovoked barbarity, with which they treated their unhappy sovereign.

C H A P. II.¹

Ten words pointed out to me by Favorinus, which, though used by the Greeks, are spurious and barbarous—Ten likewise which I pointed out to him of common and popular use among the Latins, but which are not properly Latin, nor to be found in old books.

¹ The loss of this chapter is seriously to be regretted. In every language new words are continually introduced, which, rejected at first by the learned as vicious or inelegant, become finally sanctified by use, and in time perhaps are quoted as authority for the very language which they were at first imagined to debase.

C H A P. III.

The manner in which Peregrinus¹ the philosopher, in my hearing, severely rebuked a Roman youth of equestrian rank, for standing in his presence² in a careless manner, and yawning repeatedly.

C H A P.

¹ *Peregrinus.*]—This Peregrinus is spoken of at some length by Gellius in his 12th book. For a particular account of him see Lucian and Philostratus. He was born in the 236th Olympiad. He affected to imitate Hercules in his death, and threw himself into a funeral pile, in the presence of innumerable spectators. His statue, which was erected at Paros, a city of the Hellespont, was reported to utter oracles; see Athenagoras. From the variety of characters he assumed, and parts he played, this man was surnamed Proteus. Although the inhabitants of Parium, where he was born, erected a statue in his honour, it is notorious that he was driven into banishment for crimes at which humanity shudders. It is no less singular than true, that by his dissimulation and hypocrisy, after professing himself a christian, he arrived at the highest eminence in the christian church. Perhaps a more eccentric character never existed upon earth; but as the applause paid to acts of uncommon effrontery, cunning and boldness, is fleeting and transient, posterity has paid a proper tribute to morality and virtue, by branding his memory with the infamy and abhorrence it so justly deserves.

² *Standing in his presence.*]—I have before had occasion to speak of the veneration which was paid by the ancients to those, whose office or whose age commanded it. Gellius, in another place, relates an anecdote of a man who was fined by the censors for yawning in his presence.

Gronovius

Gronovius imagines, that of this chapter he has reason to believe, that he has discovered a fragment in Nonius Marcellus, at the article *hallucinare*. The fragment is as follows:

“ *Et assiduo oscitantem vidit atque illius quidem delicatissimas mentis et corporis hallucinationes.*”

The conjecture of Gronovius may probably be right.

CHAP. IV.¹

Herodotus, the most celebrated historian, falsely asserts, that the pine-tree alone, of all trees, when cut down, never puts forth shoots from the same root.—The same person, concerning rain-water and snow, has assumed for granted, what has not been sufficiently explored.

* The passage to which there is here an allusion, is in the 37th chapter of the sixth book of Herodotus.

The expression of being destroyed as a pine became proverbial, and was applied to utter destruction without the possibility of recovery. What Herodotus says of the pine is true also of various other trees, which, as Bentley, in his Dissertation on Phalaris, remarks, all perish by lopping.

The other passage in Herodotus is, as Wesselink conjectures, in his *Dissertatio Herodotea*, in the 22d chapter of the 2d book. In this place the historian remarks, that it is a kind of law of nature, that it should rain five days after a fall of snow.

The place in Herodotus is probably corrupt; and if this book of Gellius had remained entire, we should perhaps have had a very difficult passage perfectly illustrated.

CHAP. V.

The meaning of cœlum stare pulv're in Virgil, and how Lucilius has used pectus sentibus stare.^{*}

* The passage from Virgil is this,

Et sævus campis magis ac magis horror
Cerbrescit, propiusque malum est, jam pulv're cœ-
lum
Stare vident.

Dryden has not rendered the passage with sufficient strength:

Meantime the war approaches to the tents,
Th' alarm grows hotter, and the noise augments ;
The driving dust proclaims the danger near.

The driving dust is by no means what Virgil intended to express by cœlum stare pulv're. The air was in a manner rendered thick and immovable by the condensed dust.

See Nonius Marcellus, at the article *stare*, where also it is not improbable but some fragment from this lost chapter may have been introduced.

CHAP. VI.

When, after trifling disputes, a reconciliation takes place, mutual expostulations can do no good.—Discourse of Taurus on this subject, with a passage taken from the writings of Theophrastus.—Cicero's opinion, de amore amicitiae, in his own words.

* The assertion in the beginning of this article doubtless avows an excellent moral truth,

On the subject of this lost chapter see Gellius, Book i. chap. 3. *De amore amicitiae*, means concerning the love of friendship, that is, the particular species of love or affection which friendship excites.

CHAP. VII.

Observations on the nature and power of memory;
from the book of Aristotle entitled $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\mu\nu\eta\mu\nu\varsigma$.—
Certain examples therein read or heard of concerning its extraordinary strength or deficiency.

CHAP.

* The power of the memory presents an inexhaustible subject; and innumerable instances of the excellence of this faculty in some men would fill a volume. It is very happily defined by Cicero thus,—“ *Mémoria certe non modo philosophiam sed omnis vitæ usum, omnesque artes, una maxime continet.*”

The position of Montaigne is certainly very disputable. He affirms that a strong memory is commonly coupled with infirm judgment. The converse of which strange proposition was singularly true, as it related to himself, who was remarkably deficient in this quality. He tells, in his Essays, that his study was in a remote corner of his house, and that if he wanted to consult any book, or write any thing down, when he was sitting in some other apartment, he was obliged to trust the memory of others. He could never remember the names of his servants, and was inclined to believe, that if he lived to be old he should forget his own name.

The most extraordinary example of the power of memory in this, or perhaps in any country, was the celebrated Jedediah Buxton. He was able, by his memory alone, to answer the most difficult arithmetical questions that could be proposed; of which the following are a few specimens:

He was asked, in a field 351 yards long and 261 yards wide, how many acres there were. In eleven minutes he replied, 18 acres, 3 roods, 28 perches, and 14 remained.

A second

126 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

A second question put to him was, Suppose sound moves 1142 feet in one second of time, how long after the firing of a cannon could the same be heard at the distance of five miles? In about a quarter of an hour he replied, 23 seconds, 7 thirds, and 46 remained.

A third question was, If I set 3584 plants in rows four feet asunder, and the plants seven feet apart in a rectangular piece of ground, how much land will the plants take up? In half an hour he said, two acres, one rood, eight perches, and a half.

The following was the hardest question ever proposed to him :

What dimensions must I give my joiner to make a cubical corn-bin, that shall hold just a quarter of malt, Winchester measure?

In an hour's time he replied, It would be a little more than $25\frac{3}{4}$ inches on a side, and that 26 inches would be too much. — All which answers are as true and correct as possible.

C H A P. VIII.

That I have been accustomed to interpret, and have endeavoured to render faithfully in Latin, certain passages¹ from Plato.

¹ *Passages.*]—In the edition of Gronovius and many others, the original is *locos*, but it is sometimes read *jocos*, which means *jests*. It may be observed, that in the earlier editions of Gellius, the reader will find nineteen books of Gellius, without the heads of the chapters of the eighth book, nor I do know when these heads were first discovered and printed.

C H A P. IX.

Theophrastus, the most elegant philosopher of his age, when about to address a few words to the people of Athens, from an emotion of bashfulness, became silent.—The same thing happened to Demosthenes, when speaking to king Philip.

C H A P.

The same amiable diffidence is related of some of the more celebrated characters of antiquity, and in particular of Marcus Crassus and Cicero.

Demosthenes was sent with nine other ambassadors to Philip of Macedon, to treat with him concerning a peace; and I cannot do better than give the anecdote which is here alluded to, in the words of Dr. Leland, from his History of the Life and Reign of Philip.

Demosthenes was the youngest, and consequently the last to speak. He now stood before a prince whom he was conscious he had frequently spoken of, with the greatest severity, and who he knew was thoroughly informed of every thing said or done at Athens. He was to contend with a complete master in his own art: and the reputation of the great Athenian orator, who was ever lancing the bolts of his eloquence against the king, must have raised a solemn attention in the court: even the ambassadors themselves were curious to hear those irresistible remonstrances which the orator is said to have promised with the greatest confidence, and which Philip and his courtiers were by this time warned to expect. All was suspense and eager curiosity, and every man now waited in silence for some extraordinary instance of force and dignity in speaking: but he who had so frequently braved all

all the tumult and opposition of an Athenian assembly, was in this new scene in an instant disconcerted and confounded. He began in a manner utterly unworthy of his reputation, obscure, ungraceful, and hesitating: his terror and embarrassment still encreased, and scarcely had he uttered a few broken and interrupted sentences, when his powers totally failed him, and he stood before the assembly utterly unable to proceed. Philip saw his distress, and with all imaginable politeness endeavoured to relieve it. He told him, with that condescension and good-nature which he knew so well to affect, that at his court he need be under no apprehensions: he was not now before an assembly of his countrymen, where he might expect some fatal consequences if his hearers were not pleased: he begged he would take time to recollect himself, and pursue his intended discourse. Demosthenes attempted to proceed, but his confusion still continued: he appeared still embarrassed, and was soon obliged to be again silent.—The ambassadors were then ordered to withdraw.

C H A P. X.

A dispute I had at Eleusis¹ with a certain conceited grammarian, who was ignorant of the tenses of verbs, and the common exercises of a school-boy; but who ostentatiously proposed intricate questions, and bugbears to catch the minds of the vulgar.

¹ *Eleusis.*]—This was a town of Attica, and dedicated, or rather consecrated, to the Goddess Ceres. It is still better known from the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries.

C H A P. XI.

The facetious reply of Socrates¹ to his wife Xantippe, requesting him to be somewhat more liberal in giving an entertainment at the feast of Bacchus.

¹ I have somewhere seen an anecdote of Socrates and Xantippe, which may possibly be the same as was recorded in this chapter. Socrates had invited some men, who were known to be rich, to sup with him, and Xantippe was offended with the mean and scanty preparation: “Never mind,” said Socrates, “if they are temperate they will by no means despise a frugal entertainment; if they shall be profligate and extravagant, they

they will be beneath our notice and esteem. Some people," he continued, " live merely that they may eat, whilst I eat only that I may live." This was said to have happened at the feast of the Dionysia, a feast celebrated in honour of Bacchus; at which time people were somewhat more profuse in treating their friends.

C H A P. XII.

The meaning of the phrase plerique¹ omnes in the old books, and that these words seem borrowed from the Greeks.

¹ Plerique, considered separately by itself, may be understood to mean ferme omnes, or almost all; but when omnes is added to plerique, it seems to have the sense of immo omnes: thus in English it may be interpreted, *almost all*, nay quite *all*.

C H A P. XIII.

The word quopfones¹, which the Africans use, is a Greek and not a Carthaginian word.

¹ Most of the older editions read this word Qupsones. Scaliger, in some manuscript, found it written Eupfones, which he altered to Eudones, from the Punic word Haudoni, which means, Hail, master! and perhaps, therefore, continues Gronovius, the Africans used Eudones for Adonis. Notwithstanding, therefore, what Gellius imagines, Eudones is probably a Syriac word. See the remainder of the note of Gronovius.

C H A P. XIV.

A very pleasant dispute of the philosopher Favorinus, with a certain intemperate opponent, arguing on the ambiguity of words.—Certain words applied in an unusual manner, from the poet Nævius, and from Cnæus Gellius¹.—Origin of words investigated by Publius Nigidius.

¹ The older editions read Cneius Gallus; and Gronovius sensibly remarks, that in all probability it ought to be Cæci- lius.

C H A P.

C H A P. XV.

The manner in which the poet Laberius¹ was ignominiously treated by Caius Cæsar.—Verses by the same Laberius on this subject.

* This Laberius has been before mentioned, and the reader has been told to expect the verses of the prologue which Laberius spoke on the occasion, when he suffered the indignity to which allusion is here made. I insert the original, with the translation by a friend :

Necessitas, cuius cursus transversi impetum
 Voluerunt multi effugere, pauci potuerunt,
 Quo me detrusit pœne extremis sensibus?
 Quem nulla ambitio, nulla unquam largitio,
 Nullus timor, vis nulla, nulla auctoritas
 Movere potuit in juventa de statu;
 Ecce in senecta ut facile labefecit loco
 Viri excellentis mente clemente edita
 Submissa placide, blandiloquens oratio.
 Etenim ipsi Di negare cui nihil potuerunt
 Hominem me denegare quis posset pati?
 Ergo bis tricenis annis actis sine nota,
 Eques Romanus lare egressus meo
 Domum revertar mimus; nimirum hoc die
 Uno plus vixi mihi quam vivendum fuit,
 Fortuna immoderata in bono æque atque in malo,
 Si tibi erat libitum litterarum laudibus
 Floris cacumen nostræ famæ frangere;
 Cur cum vigebam membris prævidantibus,
 Satis facere populo et tali cum poteram viro
 Non flexibilem me concurvasti ut carperes

Nunc me quo dejicis? quid ad scenam affero
 Decorem formæ, an dignitatem corporis,
 Animi virtutem, an vocis jucundæ sonum?
 Ut hedera serpens vires arboreas necat,
 Ita me vetustas, amplexu annorum, enecat.
 Sepulcri similis, nihil nisi nomen retineo.

In English.

Oh thou, the issue of whose transverse course,
 Necessity! the few alone can shun,
 Low hast thou laid me in the wane of life—
 While nor ambition, nor the Fordid bribe,
 Nor fear, nor force, nor sway of sovereign pow'r,
 Could in my youth betray me from my state;
 Behold, in weak old age, how easily
 The powerful eloquence of yon great man,
 Mild and persuasive, steals me from my rank.
 For could it be that I could e'er deny
 His power, whom nought the Gods themselves refuse?
 Forth from my house I came, a Roman knight,
 That threescore years had pass'd untaint'd by crime,
 And homeward I shall now return, a player.
 I feel that I have liv'd one day too long.
 Fortune, in each extreme of good or ill
 Unable to preserve a temp'rate sway,
 If with this scenic literary wreath
 Thou would'st break down my yet unhonour'd brow,
 Why, when the vigour and the strength of youth
 Could more have aided me to yield content
 To Roman audiences, and this great man,
 Didst thou not bend my less unpliant stem?
 Now whither dost thou cast me? To the stage!
 What profit can I bring? that have nor shape
 Nor dignity, nor spirit left, nor voice?
 The creeping ivy clasps and kills the tree.
 So falls Laberius in th' embrace of age,
 And, like a tomb, bears but the name of man.

B O O K IX.¹

C H A P. I.

The reason why Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius, in the nineteenth Book of his Annals, has observed, that a mark was struck with greater effect and certainty, when the projection was to take place upwards, than if it were downwards.

QUINTUS CLAUDIUS, in his nineteenth Book of Annals, describing the siege of a town by Metellus the proconsul, and the

¹ The books of Gellius have at different periods been differently arranged. In some manuscripts the book before us has been called the eighth book.

The assertion which is here made certainly comes in a very questionable shape, and is perhaps altogether untrue. Perhaps the converse may be the fact, and that they who project any thing from an eminence must do it with more force and greater certainty. The force of gravity acts constantly in opposition to any thing projected upward, which if it does not render the hitting the mark more precarious, must certainly diminish the momentum or the aggregate of the velocity, and the quantity of matter of the thing projected.

the resistance which was made by the citizens from the walls, has thus expressed himself:

“ The archers and slingers, on both sides, disperse their weapons with great ardour, and extraordinary courage. But there is this difference, whether you project an arrow or a stone upwards or downwards ; neither can be projected downwards with certainty, but both of them with great effect upwards. Therefore the soldiers of Metellus were much less wounded, and, what was

of

The slingers of the ancients were remarkably expert, and well they might, if what Vegetius relates be true, that they were accustomed to this exercise from their earliest infancy, and that mothers would not suffer their children to have their meals, unless they could hit such objects as were pointed out to them. It was usual to wind the sling once round the head before they projected its contents ; this was obviously to throw with greater force ; but the position of a person in an inferior situation, who has to throw any thing at a mark above him from a sling, seems very inconvenient for this motion.

Virgil, describing Mezentius about to throw from a sling, represents him as winding the sling three times round his head :

Positis Mezentius hastis,
Ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena,
Et media adversi liquefacto tempora plumbo
Diffidit, ac multa porrectum extendit arena.

Thus rendered by Dryden—

The Thuscian king
Laid by the lance, and took him to the sling ;

Thrice

of greater consequence, easily defended themselves from the battlements of the enemy."

I enquired of Antonius Julianus, the rhetorician, how this that Quadrigarius asserted came to pass, that a blow was much more effectual and certain, if a stone or an arrow were hurled upwards than downwards, when the throwing of any thing from an eminence downwards was more natural and easy, than to throw from a lower situation upwards. Then Julianus, approving of my enquiry, replied—

" What is here said of an arrow or a stone, is equally true of almost every missile weapon. It is certainly easier, as you observe, to throw any thing downwards; if your object be only to throw and not hit; but if the manner and force of the projection is to be moderated and directed,

Thrice whirl'd the thong around his head, and threw
 The heated lead, half melted as it flew,
 It pierc'd his hollow temples and his brain,
 The youth came tumbling down, and spurn'd the
 plain.*

The use of arrows and slings in battle was superseded by the invention of gun-powder, and was discontinued almost immediately after that period.

* This circumstance of the lead becoming warm from the swiftness of its rotatory motion, is mentioned frequently by the Latin poets. See Ovid.

Non secus exarsit quam cum balearica plumbum
 Funda jacit, volat illud et incardescit eundo
 Et quos non habuit sub nubibus invenit ignes.

then

then if you throw downwards, the force and precision of him who throws is interrupted both by his own precipitateness, and the weight of the weapon which is projected. But if you throw at any thing above, and the hand and eyes be prepared to hit an elevated object, the care that is taken will carry the weapon to the object at which it is aimed."

It was nearly in these terms that Julianus conversed with me on the words of Claudius ; but what the same Claudius says, they easily defended themselves from the enemy's battlement, it is to be observed, that he has used the word *defendebant*, not as it is generally applied, but with great propriety and pure Latinity. For the words *defendere* and *offendere* are opposite to each other ; the one signifies *incurrere in aliquid*, to meet any thing, the other to repel, which is the thing intended by Q. Claudius in this passage.

C H A P. II.

The words in which Herodes Atticus reproved one who, with the dress and habit, falsely assumed the title and manner of a philosopher.

IN my presence, a certain man, with a long cloak^{*} and hair, and with a beard reaching to his girdle, approached Herodes Atticus, a man of consular rank, eminent for his amiable

* *Long cloak.*]—The affected austerity of manner and mean dress which distinguished the old philosophers, was a subject which frequently exercised the talents of the comic writers of Greece and Rome. The man here mentioned was probably a Cynic, to which sect the remark above more particularly applies. An entertaining description of one of these philosophers is found in *Alciphron*, and is to this effect:

“ He saw one of those people who, from their behaviour, are called Cynics, and, in imitation of him, soon exceeded the extravagance of his master. The appearance he makes is hideous and disgusting ; he shakes his uncombed locks, his look is ferocious ; as to his dress, he goes half naked, having a little wallet hanging before him, and a staff of wild olive in his hands. He wears no shoes, is very filthy, and totally unmanageable, &c.” See also the *Hermotimus* of *Lucian* ; and *Alciphron*, in another place, thus speaks of *Epicurus*—“ He is an unwholesome, filthy wretch, wrapped up in cloth made of hair instead of wool.” The character of *Apemantus* is well represented by *Shakspeare*, in his play of *Timon of Athens*.

amiable disposition, and his accomplishments in Grecian eloquence, and requested money to be given him for bread. Herodes on this asked him who he was? he, with an angry tone and frowning countenance, replied, he was a philosopher; and expressed his surprize that he should be asked who he was, when his appearance declared it. "I perceive," returned Herodes, "the beard and the cloak, but I do not see the philosopher; but I beseech you to tell us with good-humour, by the use of what arguments we should be able to know you to be a philosopher." On this, some of those who were present with Herodes affirmed, that this was a strolling fellow, of no character, a frequenter of the meanest brothels; and that unless he got what he asked, it was his custom to be impudent and abusive. "Let us," interrupted Herodes, "give this man something, whoever he may be, considering our own characters, and not his;" and he ordered money enough to be given him to procure bread for thirty days. Then, looking upon us who were near him,

Athens. This personage, speaking of the dress which Timon now wore, affecting to imitate him, says,

If thou didst put this sour cold habit on
To castigate thy pride, 'twere well.—

See also Horace. Ep. 2. B. 2. This poet, speaking of the affected peculiarities of this race of men, mentions, among other things, their solemn silence—

Statua taciturnior exit
Plerumque et risu populum quatit.

"Musonius,"

“Musonius,” says he, “gave to a beggar of this kind, pretending to be a philosopher, a thousand sesterces; and when many people observed, that he was a profligate fellow, of the vilest character, who deserved nothing at all, they affirm that Musonius replied with a smile, ‘ therefore he deserves money².’ But this it is,” he continued, “ which affects me with real grief and vexation, that these very vile and contemptible creatures usurp a most venerable name³, and are called philosophers.

* *Deserves money.*]—Meaning, without doubt, that money is in itself so contemptible a thing as to be beneath the attention of men of wisdom, and followers of true philosophy:

Thus much of gold will make black white, foul fair,
Wrong right, base noble, old young, coward valiant.
How, you gods, why this—what this, you gods—why this
Will lug your priests and servants from your sides,
Pluck stout men’s pillows from below their heads.
This yellow slave
Will knit and break religions, blefs the accursed,
Make the hoar leprosy ador’d, place thieves,
And give them title, knee, and approbation
With senators on the bench; this is it
That makes the wappen’d widow wed again,
She whom the spital-house and ulcerous sores
Would cast the gorge at, this embalms and splices
To the April day again.

SHAKSPEARE.

* *Venerable name.*]—See a facetious dialogue in Erasmus, on the abuse of names—*De rebus et vocabulis*.

“ Jam si quis nobis adesset dialecticus qui scite definiret quid sit rex, quid episcopus, quid magistratus, quid philosophus, fortassis et hic invenerimus qui mallent nomen quam rem.”

But

But my ancestors, the Athenians, enacted by a public decree, that none of servile condition should ever bear the names of the two valiant youths, Harmodius and Aristogiton, who, to accomplish the restoration of liberty, attacked the life of the tyrant Hippias, deeming it impious that names devoted to their country's liberty should be contaminated by the contagion of servitude. Why then do we allow the most illustrious character of philosophy to grow vile among the worst of mankind? I find too," he added, " by a similar example of a contrary kind, that the ancient Romans determined that the prænomens of certain patricians, who had deserved ill of their country, and for this reason had incurred the penalty of death, should not be borne by any other patrician of that family, that their very names might seem to be degraded, and to expire along with them.

CHAP. III.

*The letter of King Philip¹ to Aristotle the philosopher,
on the birth of Alexander.*

PHILIP, son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, by whose valour and exertions the Macedonians, increasing their opulence and dominions, began to have sovereignty over various nations, and whose power and arms the celebrated orations of Demosthenes declare to have been formidable to the whole of Greece; this Philip, though at all times occupied and exercised in the toils and triumphs of war, never neglected the liberal pursuits of literature, and the studies of humanity. He did and uttered many things with equal facetiousness and urbanity. There are said

¹ *Philip.*]—For every thing relating to the life of this extraordinary personage, I beg leave to refer the reader to Leland's work, the exordium of which seems pertinent in this place.—“ The founder of the Macedonian greatness was by no means of the number of those princes who were assisted by the advantages of an illustrious country, who inherited the opulence and force of splendid and extensive dominions, or were strengthened by the acquisitions, and animated by the achievements of a long train of renowned ancestry. To his own abilities alone did Philip owe his elevation, and appears equally great, and equally the object of admiration, in surmounting the difficulties attending on his infant power, as in his maturer and more extensive fortune.”

to have been volumes of his letters full of elegance, grace, and wisdom: such is that in which he related to Aristotle the philosopher the birth of his son Alexander². This letter, as it seems to be an inducement for care and diligence in the education of children, I have thought proper to transcribe, that it may impress the minds of parents. It may be interpreted nearly in this manner:

“ Philip sends health to Aristotle—Know that a son is born to me; I therefore thank the gods, not so much because he is born, but that he happened to be born during your life—I hope, that being instructed and brought up by you, he may prove worthy both of me and the conduct of affairs.”

² *Birth of his son Alexander.*]—This day was also memorable for an event which demonstrates that there is no excess of folly or extravagance to which the human mind may not be transported, when warmed by enthusiasm. On this day Erostratus set fire to the temple of Diana at Ephesus, from the strange idea of rendering his name immortal. It is related by Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, that the priests of the goddess ran frantic through the streets of Ephesus, exclaiming, that on this day something was produced which would cause the destruction of Asia. This was of course made to apply to the birth of Alexander.

CHAP. IV.

Of the prodigies and miracles of barbarous nations; of their horrid and destructive fascinations—and of women who were suddenly turned into men.

AS we were returning from Greece to Italy, we touched at Brundusium¹, and going on shore, we wandered about that celebrated harbour, which Q. Ennius has named *Præpes*, a word somewhat remote indeed, but very apposite—we saw some bundles of books exposed for sale, to which I ran with eagerness. They were Greek books, full of prodigies and fables; of things unheard of and incredible, and old writers of no mean authority—Aristeas² of Proconnesus,

¹ *Brundufum.*]—From this celebrated harbour the Romans usually embarked to go to Greece. It was in this place, now called Brindisi, that Virgil died.

² *Aristeas.*]—This Aristeas was a poet; and a long account of him may be found in the fourth book of Herodotus. Two fragments of his works remain, one in Longinus, the other in Tzetzes.

Isigonus³ of Nicæa, Ctesias⁴, Onesicritus⁵, Polystephanus⁶, and Hegesias⁷. The volumes, from their long exposure, were very filthy, and in their outward appearance as bad as possible. I approached, however, and enquired the price: induced by their wonderful and unexpected cheapness, I bought a great many books for very little money; and in the two following nights I took a cursory perusal of them all. In my progress I made some selections, and noted many wonderful things, which few, if any, of our writers have handled. I have inserted them in these commentaries, that whoever shall read them may not

³ *Isigonus.*]—This person is spoken of by Pliny, in the 2d Chapter of the 7th book of his Natural History. Perhaps no other account of him remains than what appears in that author.

⁴ *Ctesias.*]—This man was an historian, and wrote many things contradicting the assertions of Herodotus. He probably lived in the time of the younger Cyrus. The Bibliotheca of Photius contains the particulars of this author's works, with some remarks on his style and abilities.

⁵ *Onesicritus.*]—Arrian, Strabo, and Plutarch, severally make mention of this writer, who was the companion, and who, in a diffuse metaphorical style, wrote the exploits of Alexander the Great.

⁶ *Polystephanus.*]—was an historian, and is mentioned in terms of respect by the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius.

⁷ *Hegesias.*]—It is related of this philosopher, that he painted the calamities of life in so very forcible a manner, that many of his hearers were induced to put an end to their lives. See Cicero, Tusculan Questions, Book i.

be altogether ignorant, and one who has never been a hearer of such things. In these books were passages such as these:—

That the Scythians who are most remote, and who live as it were at the very pole, fed on human flesh, and supported themselves by such nutriment, and were called Anthropophagi⁸: that there were also men beneath the same climate having one eye in the middle of the forehead, and called Arimaspi⁹, with which

* *Anthropophagi.*]—Of whom Herodotus speaks in his Melpomene. See a curious and entertaining chapter on the subject of Cannibals in Montaigne's Essays. There is also a passage on this subject in the fifteenth Satire of Juvenal, not unworthy attention.

* *Arimaspi.*]—These people are also mentioned by Herodotus, Melpomene, chap. 13. See also the Prometheus vincitus of Aeschylus—

—avoid

The Arimaspians troops, whose frowning foreheads
Glare with one blazing eye.

These Arimaspians are introduced by Lucan, in his third book: he says, they bound their hair with gold:

—Auroqte ligatas
Substringens Arimaspe comes.

Other authors represent, that there were continual wars betwixt the gryphons and Arimaspians, for this gold, of which fable Milton makes an elegant use:

As when a gryphon through the wilderness,
With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale
Pursues the Arimaspians, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloin'd
The guarded gold—

countenances the poets describe the Cyclops: that there were also men near the same district of extraordinary swiftness, having the direction of their feet reversed, and not as other men, pointing forwards. They related also, how it had been handed down from tradition, that in a certain remote part of the earth, which is called Albania, men were produced whose hair was grey in childhood, and who saw more clearly by night than by day: that it was said and believed of the Sauromatæ, who live at a great distance beyond the Borysthenes, that they only took food on every third day, abstaining on that which intervened. I also found written in the same books, what I afterwards read in the seventh book of the Natural History of the Elder Pliny, that in Africa were certain families of men, who had the power of fascination in their speech¹⁰; who, if by chance they

¹⁰ *Fascination in their speech.*]—To this idea Virgil without doubt alludes in his seventh Eclogue—

Aut si ultra placitum laudarit, baccare frontem
Cingite ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.

La Cerdà says, that it was usual with the antients, when they praised any thing, to add *præ-fascino*, that is, *fine fascino*, meaning they had no evil intentions, no thought of fascination. The *baccar* was supposed to counteract the effects of magic. The idea that a power of fascination existed in the eyes was more prevalent, and certainly more plausible. See Virgil's third Eclogue—

Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

I cannot tell what eye fascinates my tender lambs.

they extravagantly praised beautiful trees, plentiful crops, lovely infants, excellent horses, cattle which were fat and well fed, all of these suddenly died from this and no other cause. It was related in these same books, that a mortal fascination sometimes exists in the eyes ; and it is said that there are men in Illyrium, who kill by their sight those whom they look at for any time, with anger ; and that these, of whom there are both male and

The same Pliny also makes mention of a people distinguished by peculiarities certainly not less wonderful than any which are here described—they were propagated without women :—

“ *Gens sola et in toto orbe præter cæteras mira sine ulla
fœmina omni venere abdicata, sine pecunia, socia palmarum.
Ita per seculorum millia incredibile dictu gens æterna est in
qua nemo nascitur. Tam fœcunda illis aliorum vitae pœnitentia est.* ”

Which sentence Mr. Gibbon thus paraphrases :

“ The philosophic eye of Pliny had surveyed with astonishment a solitary people, who dwelt among the palm-trees, near the Dead Sea, who subsisted without money, who were propagated without women, and who derived from the disgust and repentance of mankind a perpetual supply of voluntary associates.” See also Robinson’s Disquisition concerning Ancient India.

But unfortunately Megasthenes was so fond of the marvellous, that he mingled with the truths which he related, many extravagant fictions ; and to him may be traced up the fabulous tales of men with ears so large that they could wrap themselves up in them ; of others with a single eye, without mouths, without noses, with long feet and toes turned backwards ; of people only three spans in height ; of wild men with heads in the shape of a wedge ; of ants as large as foxes, that dug up gold, and many other things no less wondrous.

female, who have this deadly power of sight, have two pupils¹¹ in each eye. That there are also, in the mountains of India, men who have heads, and who bark like dogs¹², and who support themselves by hunting birds and wild beasts: as also, what is no less wonderful, there are, in the extreme parts of the East, men, called Monocoli, who go hopping on one leg with the most wonderful swiftness; and that there are some who have no heads, whose eyes are in their shoulders. But it exceeds all bounds of wonder, what these same writers affirm, that there is a nation in the extremity of India, having their bodies fledged, and with the plumage of birds, who eat no kind of food, but live by inhaling by their nostrils the perfume of flowers: that not far from these are the Pigmies, the tallest of whom are not more than two feet and a quarter. I read these and many other things of the same kind, but in transcribing them I was disgusted by the uselessness of such writings, not at all contributing to the ornament or comfort of life. Yet I think it not

¹¹ *Two pupils.*]—Ovid has applied this idea very happily, in some verses, where he execrates a bawd for instructing his mistress in meretricious arts.

Hanc ego nocturnas versam volitare per umbras
 Suspicer, et pluma corpus anile regi,
 Suspicer, et lama est oculis quoque pupula duplex
 Fulminat, et gemino lumen ab orbe venit.

¹² *Like dogs.*]—See Herodotus, Book iv. chap. 191. to which passage, with my note upon it, I beg leave to refer the reader.

improper,

improper, in this chapter of miracles, to transcribe what Pliny the Elder, a man who, in his own times, was of high authority, both for talents and dignity, has in his seventh book of Natural History recorded, not as what he had heard or read, but what he had himself known and seen. The passage which is added below is in the words of Pliny, taken from the above-mentioned book, which indeed make the popular tale of Cænis and Cæneus in the old poets neither incredible nor ridiculous.

“ That women,” he says, “ have been changed into men”¹² is not fabulous. We find, in the Annals, in the consulship of Q. Licinius Crassus, and Caius Cassius Longinus, that at Cassinum a girl became a boy, in the house of its parents, and by command of the augurs was transported to a desert island. Licinius Mucianus has related that he himself saw at Argos one Arescontes, whose name had been Arescusa, and who had been married, but who afterwards had a beard, became a man, and took a wife: and that at Smyrna also he had seen a boy of this description. I myself, in Africa, saw Lucius Cossicus, a citizen

¹² *Into men.*]—The following extract, without any comment, is from Montaigne: “ Myself passing by Vitry le François, a town in Champagne, saw a man, the bishop of Soissons had in confirmation, called German, whom all the inhabitants of the place had known to be a girl, till two-and-twenty years of age called Mary”—It was by straining himself in a leap, it seems, that this wonderful change took place.

of Thysdrum, who became a man on the day of his marriage, and was alive when I wrote this."

The same Pliny, in the same book, has also these words: "There are men born who have the marks of each sex, whom we call hermaphrodites: formerly they were called Androgyni, and reckoned prodigies¹⁴, now they are considered as objects of delight.

“Prodigies.”—When any of these monstrous births happened, the child, by order of the Aruspices, was anciently ordered to be thrown into the sea.

C H A P. V.

Different opinions of eminent philosophers concerning the nature of pleasure.—Words of Hierocles the philosopher, in which he opposes the decrees of Epicurus.

THE ancient philosophers have avowed different opinions concerning pleasure. Epicurus asserts, that pleasure is the chief good, and he defines it thus, “a firm constitution of body.” Antisthenes, the Socractic, calls it the greatest evil. His expression is this—“ I would rather be mad, than pursue pleasure.”

Speusippus, and all the old academy, say that pleasure and pain are two evils opposing one another; that is good which is intermediate betwixt both. Zeno thought pleasure a thing indifferent, that is neutral, neither good nor evil, which he himself named, by a Greek word, *αδιαφορεν*. Critolaus, the Peripatetic, affirms, that pleasure is an evil, and produces of itself many other evils, injuries, sloth, oblivion, and stupidity. Above all these, Plato has disputed concerning pleasure in so many and various ways, that all these sentiments I have mentioned before, seem to have issued from the sources of his arguments. For he uses every one of them, as the nature of pleasure

itself, which is multiplied, allows, and as the reason of the causes which he investigates, and of the things which he would demonstrate, requires. But our countryman Taurus, as often as mention was made of Epicurus, had in his mouth, and on his lips, these words of Hierocles the Stoic¹, a man

of

* *These words of Hierocles the Stoic.*]—Enfield's valuable History of Philosophy will satisfy and instruct the English reader on the subject of the *summum bonum*, or chief good, as discussed by the ancient philosophers. The Greek saying of Hierocles at the conclusion of the chapter, has strangely perplexed the commentators on Gellius. It remained for our Bentley to remove all obscurity from the passage, by an alteration so simple that it is wonderful it should not sooner have occurred; and so satisfactory as to exclude all further controversy. I cannot do better than give the reader Bentley's own words:

“ Now that I am speaking of *προνοία*, I cannot omit a very elegant saying of Hierocles the Stoic, which, as A. Gellius tells us, the Platonic philosopher Taurus had always in his mouth when Epicurus was mentioned, *Ηδονή τελος πορνης δογμα, ωκετης πορνης οδεν πορνης δογμα*; which being manifestly corrupted, our most excellent bishop Pearson corrects it thus, *Ηδονή τελος πορνης δογμα, ωκετη προνοία οδεν πορνης δογμα*: That is, “ Pleasure is the *summum bonum*, a strumpet's tenet. Providence is nothing, a strumpet's tenet.”—Now the emendation in the main is true and good, for *πορνη* is with great sagacity changed by him into *προνοία*, which is the basis of the whole sentence. But yet there is something harsh in the syntax that his Lordship has made there, *ωκετη προνοία οδεν*, for the author, if he had used *οδεν*, would have said *προνοία οδεν οκτη*. Besides, that the same answer, *πορνης δογμα*, coming twice, makes the saying a little too flat, and scarce worthy to be used by Taurus so frequently; nor is it true that all strumpets deny Providence. I am persuaded that the

true

of great dignity and worth, “ Let pleasure be the end, is the tenet of a harlot; but that there is no Providence, is not the tenet even of an harlot.”

true reading is thus: Ήδονη τέλος· πόλευτος δογμα· οὐκ εστι προνοία· οὐδε πορνης δογμα. Now it is impossible in our language to express this saying with the same brevity and turn that the original has, but the meaning of it is, “ Pleasure is the sumnum bonum,—a strumpet’s tenet. There is no Providence — a tenet too bad even for a strumpet.” Bentley on Phalaris.

Pope, in his Ethic Epistles, thus comments on the opinions of the ancient philosophers on happiness:—

Ask of the learn’d the way ; the learn’d are blind ;
 This bids to serve, and that to shun mankind ;
 Some place the bliss in action, some in ease,
 These call it pleasure, and contentment these ;
 Who thus define it, say they more or less
 Than this, that happiness is happiness ?
 One grants his pleasure is but rest from pain,
 One doubts of all, one owns ev’n virtue vain.

See Bishop Warburton’s remarks on the above passage in answer to Crousaz.

CHAP. VI.

*How the frequentative verb from *ago* is to be pronounced in the first vowel¹.*

FROM *ago*, *egi*, come the verbs which the grammarians call frequentative, *a<it>tito*, *a<it>tav*i**. I have heard some, and these not unlearned men, pronounce these as if the first vowel was short: and they give as a reason that in the principal verb *ago* the first vowel is so pronounced. Why then from the verbs *edo* and *ungo*, in which verbs the first letter is pronounced short, do we make the first letter of their frequentatives *esito* and *un<it>tito* long; and on the contrary we make the first letter of *di<it>tito*, which comes from *dico*, short? Are therefore *a<it>tito* and *a<it>tav*i** to be long?

Since frequentatives are almost without exception pronounced, with respect to the first vowel,

¹ This is without doubt one of the chapters in Gellius which cannot be supposed materially to interest the English reader, but, with many other chapters, it is of use to prove that the Romans must unquestionably have had a mode, and that a very delicate one, of varying the pronunciation of words, some of which, to us, appear perfectly unequivocal. In such a word as *a<it>tito*, or *un<it>tito*, the first vowel is obviously long by position, nor is it easy to vary its pronunciation, so that it might be imagined a short syllable.

Quando veteres dicunt syllabam esse brevem quæ positione sit longa, intelligi hoc debet de solo vocalis sono, non de syllaba; sic prima in *di<it>tito* brevis, ut A. Gellius ait, lib. ix. cap. 6. quasi dicas etsi dicatur *deico*, tamen ejus frequentativum non sonare *deictito*, sed *di-<it>tito*.—Vossius de Arte Grammatica, l. ii. c. 12. See also what he says, l. i. c. 12. about *un<it>tito*, *a<it>tito*, &c.

as the participles of the preterite of the verbs from which they are derived are pronounced, on the same syllable, as *lego, lectus, lectito*; so *ungo, unctus, unctito*; *scribo, scriptus, scriptito*; *moveo, motus, motito*; *pendo, pensus, pensito*; *edo, esus, esito*; but we say *dico, dictus, dictito*; *gero, gestus, gestito*; *veto, vectus, vectito*; *ratio, raptus, raptito*; *capiro, captus, captito*; *facio, factus, factito*. So also *actito* is to be pronounced long in the first syllable, since it comes from *ago, actus*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the change of leaves on the olive-tree on the first day of winter and summer. Of musical strings sounding at that time without being struck.*

IT has been popularly written and believed, that the leaves of olive-trees undergo a change on the first day of the winter or summer solstice; and that part of them which was beneath and out of sight became uppermost, visible to the eye, and exposed to the sun; which I myself, more than once, being desirous to observe, have seen actually take place.

* *Change of leaves.* — Assertions made in this unequivocal form must certainly have been the result of some observation, however erroneous. Of the science of botany the ancients without doubt knew a great deal more than we are inclined to allow; but this remark of Gellius, with respect to the olive, is unquestionably a mistake. Some leaves, as for instance those of the aspin and the poplar, which are subject to a constant and tremulous motion, might, from being in a greater degree affected by the equinoctial winds, deceive the eye; and there are also other leaves, as those of the hyacinth, campanula, &c. which can perform their functions in any situation. But the olive is a sturdy and inflexible plant, and if the leaves were, by any operation, placed with the lower parts above, the fibres must be wounded, and the leaves die. Here is therefore some greater mistake than my knowledge of the subject will enable me to explain.

But

But what is said of musical strings² is more uncommon and wonderful, which thing many other learned men, and in particular Suetonius Tranquillus, in his book of Ludicrous History, affirms, has been sufficiently proved, and indeed is unequivocally certain, that some chords of musical instruments, on the day of the winter solstice, being struck with the fingers, others will sound.

² *Musical strings.*]—With the usual inaccuracy of the ancients in matters of experiment, we have an effect of musical strings here mentioned as belonging to a particular season, which would doubtless have taken place at any other time, though perhaps better in some kinds of weather than in others. From the concise manner in which the fact is mentioned, it is rather doubtful what might be intended; but as we know of no sympathetic sounds except those produced by the vibration of strings in unison, or octave, to the string which is struck, we may conclude that this was what Suetonius wrote of. As the instruments of the ancients had no great compass of notes, it probably was meant that a string struck on one lyre would produce sound in another; which certainly is true, but this effect would have taken place at any part of the year, had it been tried. We cannot suppose any thing so subtle to be intended as the third sounds of Romieu and Tartini, the production of which depends upon holding out the sounds of two notes at once, in a way that could not have been practised on the ancient *fides*. This, however, or any other effect we can conceive of such a nature, would have happened in all seasons.

C H A P. VIII.

He who has much must necessarily want much.—

The opinion of Favorinus the philosopher on this subject expressed with elegant brevity ¹.

IT is certainly true what wise men, from their observation of the use of things, have said, that he who has much must want much, ^{and}

¹ That this chapter contains a great moral truth, nobody will attempt to deny ; and a multitude of passages might be cited, both from Greek and Latin writers, to prove that the idea and expression was proverbial.

Gronovius thinks, and with great probability, that in this place Favorinus alludes to the celebrated Lucullus, whose enormous wealth was a frequent subject of admiration with the poets and writers of his time.

Chlamydes; Lucullus, ut aiunt;
Si posset centum scene præbere rogatus,
Qui possum tot ait; tamen et quænam et quos habeo
Mittam, post paulo scribit sibi millia quinque
Esse domi Chlamydum, partem vel tolleret omnes.

Pope, perhaps, in his imitation of Horace, has been less successful, with respect to this brilliant passage, than in other places : he contents himself with saying,

This wealth brave Timon gloriously confounds ;
Ask'd for a groat, he gives a thousand pounds.

Perhaps in any other writer than Pope it would have been observed, that the first line is far from perspicuous ; for it may

and that great indigence arises not from great want, but great abundance. For many things are wanted to preserve the many things which you have. Whoever, therefore, having much, wishes to take care, and see before-hand that he may not want or be defective in any thing, has need of loss and not of gain, and must have less that he may want less. I remember this sentiment uttered by Favorinus, amidst the loudest applauses, and conveyed in these very few words :

“ He who has ten thousand or five thousand garments, must inevitably want more. Wanting therefore something more than I possess, if I take away from what I have, I may content myself with the remainder.”

may be asked, what is meant by Timon confounding his wealth? The idea of Horace is very different, and lucid as the light itself: he represents an individual as being so exceedingly rich, that he does not know the extent of his riches. The quotation from Favorinus, as it stands in the edition of Gronovius, is not satisfactory. But all difficulty seems immediately to be removed, if instead of *οἰς γὰρ εἶχεν* we read *οἰς γ' αρεὶχεν*.

C H A P. IX.

Manner of transferring Greek sentiments into Latin compositions.—Of those verses of Homer which Virgil has been thought to have imitated well and elegantly, or the contrary.

WHEN elegant sentiments are to be imitated and translated from Greek poems, we are not, it is said, always to endeavour to place every word¹ according to the order in which they originally stand; for many things lose their beauty when, in a translation, they are distorted as it were by unnatural violence. Virgil has therefore demonstrated both skill and

¹ *To place every word.*]—A similar sentiment is expressed by Lord Bolingbroke, in his Letters on History, which I have before had occasion to quote. To translate servilely into modern language an ancient author, phrase by phrase, and word by word, is preposterous, &c.

From an ingenious publication, entitled, *An Essay on the Principles of Translation*, I extract the following account of a perfect translation: “ I would therefore,” says this writer, “ describe a good translation to be that in which the merit of the original work is so completely transfused into another language, as to be as distinctly apprehended, and as strongly felt, by a native of the country to which that language belongs, as it is by those who speak the language of the original work.”

judgment,

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 163

judgment, when, desiring to transfer passages from Homer, Hesiod, Apollonius, Parthenius, Callimachus, or Theocritus, he has omitted some things, and borrowed others. Thus, when very lately at table the Bucolics of Theocritus and Virgil were read together, we perceived that Virgil had omitted what in the Greek is indeed very delightful, but which neither can nor ought to be translated. But what he has substituted in place of what he omitted, is perhaps more agreeable and pertinent.

Βαλλει παῖς μαλοῖσι τὸν αἰπολὸν ἀ' Κλεαρίστα²
Ταῖς αἰγαῖς παρελωνταῖς καὶ αὖτις ποππυλιασθεῖς.

Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,
Et fugit ad salices et se cupit ante videri.

² These lines of Theocritus are thus translated by Mr. Polwhele:

Oft Clearista pelts with apples *crisp*
Her swain, and in a whisper loves to *lispe*.

But this is inadequate, and leaves out a material circumstance. The literal meaning is, Clearista throws apples at the goat-herd as he drives his goats along, whispering something kind at the time.

Virgil's lines are thus rendered by Dryden,

My Phyllis me with pelted apples plies,
Then tripping to the woods the wanton hies,
And wishes to be seen before she flies.

} 7

A similar idea is beautifully expressed by Horace—

Nunc et latentes proditor intimo
Gratus puellæ risus ab angulo.

164 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

We observed also that in another passage he had carefully omitted what in the Greek verse is most delightful—

Τίτυρ εμιν το καλον πεφιλαμενε, βοσκε τας αιγας³
Και ποτι ταν κραναν αγε Τίτυρε· και Τον ενορχαν
Τον Λιβυκον Κυακωνα φυλασσεο μη το κορυψη.

How could he have expressed *το καλον πεφιλαμενε*, which words indeed defy translation, but have a certain native sweetnes? This therefore he omitted, transferring the rest with much pleasantry; except that what Theocritus calls *ενορχαν* he calls *caprum*. According to Varro that in Latin is *caper* which has been castrated,—

Tityre, dum redeo, brevis est via, pasce capellas

Et potum pastas age, Tityre, et inter agendum

Occursare capro, cornu ferit ille, caveto.

³ The Greek lines of Theocritus are thus rendered by Mr. Polwhele.

Tityrus, guide them to their wonted rill;
Yet, whether stream or pasturage be thy care,
That Lybian ram with butting head beware.

The correspondent verses in the ninth Eclogue of Virgil, Dryden thus translates—

Oh Tityrus, tend my herd, and see them fed,
To morning pastures, evening waters led,
And ware the Lybian ridgil's butting head.

Ridgil is a word of rare occurrence. In another place Dryden uses ridgling—it means a ram half castrated. Lord Lauderdale, in his version of Virgil, has the same word.

And

And now I am on this subject of transferring passages from one language to another, I remember hearing from the scholars of Valerius Probus, a learned man, and very expert in comprehending, and properly estimating the writings of the ancients, that he was used to say, that Virgil had in no instance imitated Homer with less success than in these charming verses, in which Homer describes Nausicaa :

Οιη δ' Αρτεμις εισι κατ' ορεος ιοχειρα, ⁴
 Η κατα Τηνυγετον περιμηκετον, η Ερυμανθου
 Τερπομενη καπροισι και ωκεινς ελαφοισι,
 Τη δε θ' αμανυμφαι, κυραι Διος αιγιοχοιο
 Αυρονομοι παιζοτι, γεγυθε δε τε φρενα Λιτα
 Πασαν δ' υπερ ιηγε καρη εχει ηδε μετωπα.
 Ρεισ δ' αριγνωτη πελεται καλαι δε τε πασαι.

Qualis

* I use Pope's translation of these lines from Homer :

As when o'er Erymanth Diana roves,
 Or wide Täygetus resounding groves,
 A silver train the huntress queen surrounds,
 Her rattling quiver from her shoulder sounds ;
 Fierce in the sport, along the mountain's brow
 They bay the boar, or chase the bounding roe ;
 High o'er the lawn, with more majestic pace,
 Above the nymphs she treads with stately grace ;
 Distinguish'd excellence the goddess proves,
 Exults Latona as the virgin moves :
 With equal grace Nausicaa trod the plain,
 And shone transcendent o'er the beauteous train.

Qualis in Eurotæ ripis aut per juga Cynthi
 Exercet Diana choros: quam mille secutæ
 Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades, illa
 pharetram

These of Virgil are thus rendered by Dryden—

Such on Eurotas banks, or Cynthus height,
 Diana seems, and so she charms the sight.
 When in the dance the graceful goddess leads
 The quire of nymphs, and overtops their heads,
 Known by her quiver and her lofty mein,
 She walks majestic, and she looks their queen.

It may not be improper to insert here the answer of Scaliger to this criticism of Gellius, which, however, will not satisfy every reader. I transcribe the note from Pope's own edition of his Homer.

Scaliger observes, that the persons, not the places, are intended to be represented by both poets; otherwise Homer himself is blameable, for Nausicaa is not sporting on a mountain, but a plain, and has neither bow nor quiver, like Diana. Neither is there any weight in the objection concerning the gravity of the gait of Dido, for neither is Nausicaa described in the act of hunting, but dancing. And as for the word *pertenant*, it is a metaphor taken from musicians and musical instruments, it denotes a strong degree of joy. *Per* bears an intensive sense, and takes in the perfection of joy. As to the quiver, it was an ensign of the goddess, as *αργυροτοξος* was of Apollo, and is applied to her upon all occasions indifferently, not only by Virgil but more frequently by Homer. Lastly, *μεγα δε, &c.* is superfluous, for the joy of Latona compleats the whole; and Homer has already said, *γεγνθε δε, &c.*

Upon which Pope remarks, that there is still a greater correspondence to the subject intended to be illustrated in Homer than in Virgil, which indeed seems sufficiently obvious, without adding any thing further on the subject.

Fert

Fert humero, gradiensque deas supereminet
 omnes, et in seculis suis
 Latonæ tacitum pertant gaudia pectus.

They observed, first, that it appeared to Probus, that in Homer the virgin Nausicaa, sporting among her fellow nymphs in a solitary place, is properly and consistently compared with Diana hunting on the summits of the mountains among the rural goddesses: but Virgil has been by no means consistent; for as Dido is in the midst of a city, walking among the Tyrian princes, with a serious gait and gesture, as he himself says, superintending the labours of her people and her future empire, he can from thence take no similitude adapted to the sports and hunttings of Diana. Homer afterwards ingeniously and directly places the pleasures and pursuits of Diana in hunting. But Virgil, not having said any thing concerning the hunting of the goddes, only makes her carry her quiver on her shoulder as a fatigue and a burden. And they added, that Probus particularly expressed his surprize at Virgil's doing this, because the Diana of Homer enjoys a real and unaffected delight, and one which entered deeply into the very recesses of her soul; for what else can mean *γεγνθε δε τε φρενα Λητω*? which Virgil desiring to imitate, has represented a stupid, trifling, precarious pleasure, affecting only the surface of the heart; for he could no otherwise understand the term *pertant*. Besides all this,

168 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

Virgil appears to have omitted the flower of the passage, having taken no notice of this verse of Homer—

Πεια δε αριγνωτη πελεται· καλχι δε τε πασαι.

Since no greater or more expressive praise of beauty could possibly be introduced, than that she alone excelled where all were fair; she alone was easily distinguished from the rest.

CHAP. X.

That Annæus Cornutus has injured, by an unjust and odious calumny, those lines of Virgil wherein he, with modest reserve, speaks of the matrimonial intercourse betwixt Venus and Vulcan.

ANNIANUS the poet, and many others also of similar pursuits in literature, have commended with great and repeated praise the verses of Virgil, in which he describes the conjugal union of Vulcan and Venus. Having to represent what the laws of nature require to be concealed, he involved it in a modest application of words. He says thus—

—Ea verba locutus
Optatos dedit amplexus: placidumque petivit
Conjugis infusus gremio per membra soporem,
They

* *Ea verba, &c.]*—Thus rendered by Dryden—

Trembling he spoke, and, eager of her charms,
He snatch'd the willing goddess to his arms,
Till in her lap infus'd he lay, possess'd
Of full desire, and sunk to pleasing rest.

Similar to the expression in the original of *conjugis infusus gremio*, is that in the second *Georgic*—

Fœcundis imbris æther
Conjugis in gremium læte descendit, &c.

They thought it less difficult, in describing a thing of this kind, to use words demonstrating it by one or more short and simple sign, as Homer has said, *παρθενικης ζωνη, και λεκτροιο θεσμον*, and *εγγα φιλοτησια.*

Τω μεν αρ εν τρητοισι χατευνασθεν λεχεεσσιν.

But no other person has represented this sacred mystery of chaste enjoyment in so many plain, yet not obscene², but pure and honest terms. But Annæus Cornutus, a man in other respects neither unlearned, nor absurd, in the second book which he wrote on the Figures of Speech, has violated the whole of this highly to be commended modesty, by a preposterous and odious examination. For, having approved this kind of figure, and allowed the verses to be composed with sufficient circumspection, he says that he has used the word *membra* somewhat indiscreetly.

See a curious chapter in the *Adversaria* of Gataker upon *λογοι σεμνοι*, where, among other things, he says, “*Ita nec verba nuda claraque sermo patitur pudicus ubi facti mentionem erigit causæ justa necessitas.*” See also Plutarch *de Preceptis Conjug.* The Annotations also of Quintus Carrolus on this chapter are worth consulting.

² *Not obscene.*]—In the original, *verbis prætextatis*, the origin of which is differently explained by learned men. The same expression occurs in Suetonius. See the Life of Vespasian. *Erat enim dicacitatis plurimæ, et sic scurrilis ac fordidæ, ut ne prætextatis quidem verbis abstinaret.*

C H A P. XI.

Of Valerius Corvinus, and why called Corvinus.

NONE of our best writers have spoken differently of M. Valerius, than that he was called Corvinus from the aid given him in battle by a raven. This really wonderful incident is thus related in the books of Annals :

“ A youth so descended ² was, in the consulship of L. Furius and Claudius Appius, made a military tribune. At this time large bodies of the Gauls had taken possession of the plains of Pomptinum ³, and the forces were drawn out by the consuls, who were not without alarm at the power and number of the enemy. Then the leader of the Gauls, of vast and gigantic stature, his arms glittering with gold, advanced with a rapid step, and

² This story of Corvinus is to be found in Livy, and is also related by Valerius Maximus.

³ *So descended.*]—The reader will observe that this is the continuance of a story.

³ *Pomptinum,*]—is written variously, Pomtinus and Po-
metinus. This place was, in the time of Juvenal, the resort
of robbers.

Interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem,
Armato quoties tuta custode tenentur,
Et Pontina palus et Gallinaria pinus.

wielding

wielding in his hand a spear. Looking round him, with an air of haughtiness and contempt, he challenged from the whole Roman army any one to come forth and encounter him. Then Valerius the tribune, the rest hesitating ⁴ from fear or shame, first demanding leave of the consuls to engage this vain boaster, went forth with an undaunted yet modest step to meet him.—They met, and, after a short pause, commenced an attack ;—but here a divine interposition was visible. Suddenly a raven flew and rested on the helmet of the tribune, and thence began to attack the face and eyes of his opponent. It leaped upon him, and greatly harassed him, tearing him with his claws, and obstructing his sight with his wings ; and having satisfied his rage, flew back to the helmet of the tribune. Thus the tribune, in the sight of both armies, by the force of his own valour, and the assistance of the bird, conquered

⁴ *The rest.*]—Thus Homer describes the effect of Hector's challenge on the Grecian army—

The fierce defiance Greece astonish'd heard,
Blush'd to refuse, and to accept it fear'd.

Such also was the impression made by the challenge of Goliath : “ When Saul and all Israel heard these words of the Philistine, they were dismayed and greatly afraid.”

When Argantes in Tasso challenges the nobles in the camp of Godfrey, they are represented as being indignant, but not afraid.

The challenge gan he then at large expose,
With mighty threats, high terms, and glorious words.
On every side an angry murmur rose.

the

and slew the daring leader of the enemy; and from this circumstance he obtained the cognomen of *Corvinus*. This happened in the four hundred and fifth year from the building of the city. To this Corvinus the divine Augustus erected a statue in his own forum⁵, upon the head of which statue is a raven, commemorating the incident and battle above described."

⁵ *In his own forum.*]—The forum of Augustus is reckoned by Pliny among the most magnificent ornaments of Rome. Till the time of Augustus there were but three forums at Rome, the Roman, Julian, and that of Augustus, more were afterwards added. They must have made a splendid appearance, for they were surrounded by porticoes, and adorned with marble columns and statues.

C H A P. XII.

Of words which are used with two opposite significations. *

AS the term *formidolosus* is applied both to him who fears, and to him who is feared; *invidiosus* to him who envies, and to him who is envied; *suspiciosus* to him who suspects, and to him who is suspected; *ambitiosus* to him who solicits a vote, and to him whose vote is solicited; *as gratirosus* to him who gives, and to him who receives thanks; *laboriosus* to him who labours, and to that which is laboured upon; and as many other words of this kind may be applied both ways, so *infestus* is also used in an ambiguous sense: for he is called *infestus* who offers injury to any one, and so is he also over whom the injury is suspended. But what I had asserted before by

* The circumstance noticed in this chapter is perhaps common to all languages: in our own particularly, the word *fearful*, corresponding to the Latin *formidolosus*, is used in both senses. We say it is a *fearful*, for it is a *dreadful* thing; and we also say of a timorous person that he is very *fearful*. Shakspeare says—

And in a time,
When *fearful* wars point at me.

We say a *suspicious* person also for one likely to excite suspicion, as well as for one whose disposition inclines him to feel it.

no means wants examples. So also many call an enemy or opponent *infestum*. But the other assertion is less known, and more obscure; for who in general would apply the term *infestus* to him, to whom another was *infestus* (an enemy)? But many of the ancient writers did this; and M. Tullius, in the oration which he wrote for Cn. Plancus, has thus used this word:

“ Dolebam Judices et acerbe ferebam si hujus salus ob eam ipsam causam esset *infestior* quod is meam salutem, atque vitam sua benivolentia præsidio, custodiaque texisset.”

We enquired therefore concerning the origin and reason of the word, and found it thus explained by Nigidius:

“ *Infestum* is so called *a festinando*², for he who presses upon any one, and eagerly urges him, and studies and makes haste to injure him; or, on the contrary, if any one's peril or ruin is eagerly hastened, both are said to be *infestus*, from the urgency and imminence of the mischief which is either about to be committed or endured.”

If any one shall wish to see an example for *suspiciosus* above-mentioned, or of *formidolosus*, in the less common sense, concerning the former

² *A festinando.*]—I question whether this derivation will satisfy many readers. It is certainly far-fetched. Vossius would derive it immediately from *festus*. The etymology here given by Nigidius is adopted by Nonius Marcellus.

word he may find this passage in M. Cato, “ *de Re Floria* ³.”

“ *Sed nisi qui palam corpore pecuniam quæreret, aut se lenoni locavisset et si fabulosus et suspiciosus fuisset, vim in corpus liberum non æquum censuere afferri.*”

Here Cato uses the word *suspiciosus* for one *suspected*, not for one who *suspects*.

Sallust, in his *Catiline*, thus uses *formidolosus* for one who is *feared*—

“ *Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus.*”

Thus also C. Calvus, in his poems, uses *laboriosus*, not in the common acceptation, for him who labours, but for that which is laboured upon. He says—

Durum rus fugis et *laboriosum*.

In the same manner Laberius also, in his *Sisters*—

Œcastor multum *somniculosum*.

And Cinna, in his poems—

Somniculosum ut Pœnus aspidem Psyllus.

The words *metus* and *inuria* also, with some

³ *Re Floria.*]—It is sufficiently known, that in the ceremonies observed at Rome in honour of the goddess Flora, many obscenities were practised; against these Cato wrote a book. Lactantius and Arnobius both of them reprobated with becoming severity these festivals; and indeed every thing was then practised offensive to delicacy and good morals. Ovid calls this goddess Floris,

others of this kind, may so be applied both ways, for *metus hostium* is proper, both when enemies fear, and are feared. Therefore Sallust, in his first history, says, *metum Pompeii*, not that Pompey was afraid, which is the more common sense, but that he was feared. These are Sallust's words: "Id bellum excitabat *metus Pompeii* victoris Hiempsalem in regnum restituentis." Thus also in another place,—"Postquam remoto *metu* Punico simultates exercere vacuum fuit."

We also apply *injuriæ* to those who suffer, and those who commit injury, examples of which may easily be found. The following expression also in Virgil has this same form of signification, to be interpreted either way—

Et vulnere tardus Ulyssæ—

speaking of the wound, not which Ulysses had received, but inflicted. *Nescius* is also applied to him who is unknown, and to him who knows not. Only that *qui nescit* is the more frequent acceptation of this word, *quod nescitur* not so. *Ignarus* may in like manner be applied both ways, and means not only he who is ignorant, but who is unknown. Plautus, in his *Rudeis*, says—

Quæ in locis nesciis nescia spe sumus.

And Sallust—anno 69

More humanae cupidinis *ignara* visundi.

And Virgil—

Ignarum Laurens habet ora Mimantæ

C H A P. XIII.

A passage from the History of Claudius Quadrigarius, where he describes the engagement of Manlius Torquatus, a noble youth, and an enemy of Gaul, who gave a general challenge.

TITUS MANLIUS was a person of high rank, and of the first degree of nobility; he afterwards received the cognomen of Torquatus. We have been informed that the cause of this cognomen was a chain, a golden spoil which he took away from an enemy whom he slew, and afterwards wore. Who the enemy was, of how great and formidable stature, how audacious the challenge, and in what kind of battle they fought, Quintus Claudius, in his first book of Annals, has described with much purity and elegance, and in the simple and unadorned sweetness of ancient language. When Favorinus the philosopher read the passage from this book, he used to say that his mind was affected with no less serious emotion, than if he had seen the combatants engaged before him.—I have added the words of Claudius, in which this battle is described :

“ At

“ At this period a Gaul, entirely unprotected, except with his shield and two swords¹, advanced, wearing a chain and bracelets: he was superior to the rest in strength, in size, in vigour, and in courage. In the very height of the battle, when both sides were fighting with the greatest ardour, he made a motion with his hand² that

the

* *Shield and two swords.*]—The shields of the Germans and Gauls were very large, their swords very long and heavy. One of these swords was probably a dagger. The Turks, besides their sword, have commonly a dagger stuck in their girdle. The most sublime description of a battle betwixt two warriors, is that of Milton, in his sixth book, where Satan is represented as opposed to Michael:—

Who, though with the tongue
Of angels, can relate, or to what things
Liken on earth conspicuous, that may lift
Human imagination to such height
Of godlike power? for likest gods they seem'd,
Stood they or mov'd, in stature, motion, arms,
Fit to decide the empire of great heaven.
Now wav'd their fiery swords, and in the air
Made horrid circles; two broad suns their shields
Blaz'd opposite, while expectation stood
In horror: from each hand with speed retir'd,
Where erst was thickest fight, th' angelic throng,
And left large field, unsafe within the wind
Of such commotion, &c. &c.

“ *Motion with his hand.*]—It is not easy to conceive how, in the clamour and tumult of a great battle, in which multitudes were engaged, this could be effected. Homer describes

the battle should cease on both sides. A cessation ensued; immediately silence being obtained he cried with a loud voice, that if any one would fight with him, he was to come forth. On account of his stature and ferocious appearance, nobody answered. The Gaul then began to express scorn and contempt³. A person named Manlius, of illustrious rank, was suddenly struck with grief that so great a disgrace should happen to his country, and that of so numerous an army, no one should accept the challenge. He, I say, on this advanced, nor would suffer the Roman valour to be basely contaminated by a Gaul; armed with the shield of a foot soldier, and a Spanish sword, he accordingly met him. This meeting on the bridge, in the presence of both armies, inspired universal awe. As I before said, they met in arms: the Gaul, according to the manner of his country, putting forth his shield, advanced with a kind of song⁴. Manlius, relying on

Hector as suspending the battle by a motion of his spear, that is, with regard to his own troops,—

The challenge Hector heard with joy;
Then with his spear restrain'd the youth of Troy,
Held by the midst athwart, and near the foe
Advanc'd, with steps majestically slow.

³ *Contempt.*]—See Chapter XI.

⁴ *With a song.*]—I have described, in my notes to Herodotus, the different modes in which the ancients advanced to combat. The modern Gauls, it seems, affect to advance to battle with a song; and the Martellois hymn has been the signal of many a sanguinary scene.

his

his courage rather than skill, struck shield to shield, and disconcerted the position of the Gaul. When the Gaul a second time endeavoured to place himself in a similar position, a second time Manlius struck shield to shield, and again obliged the Gaul to shift his ground. Thus placing himself as it were beneath the sword of the Gaul, he stabbed him in the breast with his Spanish blade. He then, by the force of his right shoulder, continued the blow, nor did he remit his effort till he had overthrown him, not suffering the Gaul to have the opportunity of a stroke. When he had overcome him he cut off his head⁵, took his chain, and placed it, stained with blood, round his own neck ; from which incident, both he and his descendants bore the cognomen of Torquatus." From this Titus Manlius, whose battle Quadrigarius has here described, all severe and imperious orders were called Manlian⁶, since afterwards,

⁵ *Cut off his head.*]—It seems in a manner the natural impulse of a fierce and barbarous people to cut off the heads of their enemies, partly to satisfy revenge, and partly to carry away as a trophy. This we accordingly find to have been done ; and hence, among the Indians of America, rose the custom of scalping. It was found cumbrous and inconvenient to carry away a number of heads, for it must have been a constant impediment to flight, and indeed to activity. Convenience, therefore, suggested the idea of taking away only the scalp, an operation which the Indians perform with extraordinary skill and facility.

⁶ *Manlian.*]—Manliana imperia became a proverbial expression. The fact here alluded to is recorded in the

afterwards, when he was consul in a war against the Latins, he commanded his son to be beheaded, who being sent by him to reconnoitre, with orders not to fight, had killed an enemy who had challenged him.

eighth book of Livy; and the historian, after relating the story, makes an observation which equally becomes him as a philosopher and a man of humanity. The example, says he, was doubtless salutary with regard to posterity, but at the period when it was perpetrated it could not fail to make the character of the consul odious. Valerius Maximus relates the same anecdote, adding, that when Manlius returned to Rome, none of the young men would go to meet him; in such detestation was he held by all the Roman youth, who among themselves gave him the name of *Imperiosus*.

C H A P. XIV.

The same Quadrigarius asserts, that hujus facies, in the genitive case, is proper and good Latin; with other observations on the declensions of similar words.

THE expression made use of by Quadrigarius in the preceding chapter, *Propter magnitudinem atque immanitatem facies*, I have taken pains to discover in some of our old writers, and I find that he has authority for it: for many of the ancients thus declined *facies*, *hæc facies*, *hujus facies*; which now, in grammatical propriety, is written *faciei*. But I have found some corrupted books, in which *faciei* is used; the word *facies* written before being obliterated. I remember also, that in the library of Tiburtus¹, in this same book of Quadrigarius, I have found both words used, *facies* and *faciei*. But *facies* was used in the text, and *facii*, with a double *i*, written in the margin; and it appeared to us that this was entirely consistent with ancient usage. For as they said *bic dies* and *hujus dii*, so also from *hæc famæ*

¹ *Tiburtus.*]—See our author again, Book xix. c. 5. where he says this library was in the temple of Hercules.

they use *bujus fami*. Q. Ennius, in his sixteenth Annal, has used *dies* for *diei*, in this verse:

Postremæ longinqua dies confecerit ætas.

Cæsellius also affirms, that in the oration which Cicero made for P. Sestius², he wrote *dies* instead of *diei*. After considerable pains, and the careful examination of many old copies, I find it actually written as Cæsellius affirms. These are the words of M. Tully: *Equites vero datus illius dies horas*. It is this fact which induces me the more readily to give credit to those who have asserted, that they had seen a manuscript in Virgil's own hand, in which it is thus written:

Libra dies³, somnique pares ubi fecerit horas.

That

² *Sestius.*]—In Cicero it is read *Sextius*; but *Sestius* is found in many manuscripts.

³ *Libra dies, &c.*]

When Libra has made the hours of the day and sleep equal. The note of Martyn at this passage of Virgil is so curious that I insert it here.

“Here Virgil exemplifies his precept relating to astronomy. The time which he mentions for sowing barley, is from the autumnal equinox to the winter solstice. This perhaps may seem strange to an English reader; it being our custom to sow it in the spring. But it is certain, that in warmer climates they sow it at the latter end of the year; whence it happens that their barley-harvest is considerably sooner than their wheat-harvest. Thus we find, in the book of Exodus, that the flax and the barley were destroyed by the hail, because the barley was in the ear and the flax was in seed; but the wheat and the rye escaped, because they were not yet come up.”

This

That is, *Libra diei somnique*. But as in this passage Virgil seems to have written *dies*; so there is no doubt, but that in this verse he has written *dii* for *dei*:

Munera, lætitiamque dii —

which those who are less learned read *dei*, from a kind of disgust arising from want of use. So also by the ancients it was declined, *dies*, *dii*; as *fames*, *fami*; *pernicies*, *pernicii*; *progenies*, *progenii*; *luxuries*, *luxurii*; and *acies*, *acii*. M. Cato, in the oration which he made on the Carthaginian war, wrote thus: *Pueri atque mulieres extrudebantur fami causa*. Luçilius, in his fifteenth book, says: *Rugosum atque fami plenum*. Sefenna, in his sixth book of Histories, has this expression: *Romanos inferendæ pernicii causa venisse*. Pacuvius, in his Paulus;

Pater supreme, nostræ progenii patris.

Cn. Matius in his 21st Iliad:

Altera pars acii vitaffent fluminis undas.

The same Matius, in his 23d book:

An maneat specii simulachrum in muto silentum.

C. Gracchus *De legibus promulgatis*, says, *Ea luxurii causa aiunt institui*. In the same book, in

This passage from Virgil is minutely imitated by Lucan:

*Tempus erat quo Libra pares examinat horas,
Non uno plus aqua dies, noctique rependit
Lux minor hybernæ verni solatia damni.*

another

another place, *Non est ea luxuries, quæ necessario parentur vitæ causa*; from which it appears, that he has made *luxurii* the genitive case from *luxuries*. Marcus Tullius also, in the oration where he defends Sex. Roscius, has written *pernicii*. The words are these: *Quorum nihil pernicii causa divino consilio, sed vi ipsa et magnitudine rerum factum putamus*.

We must presume, therefore, that *Quadrigarius* wrote either *facies* in the genitive case, or *facii*; but I certainly cannot find *facie* in any ancient book. But in the dative case, they who spoke with greatest purity did not say *faciei*, which is now in use, but *facie*. Lucilius in his Satires says:

Primum facie quod honestatis accedit.

The same Lucilius in his seventh book:

Qui te diligit ætatis facieque tuæ se
Fautorem ostendat, fore amicum polliceatur.

But there are nevertheless many who, in both cases, use *facii*. But C. Cæsar, in his second book on Analogy, thought it should be written *hujus die* and *hujus specie*. I myself also, in the *Jugurtha* of Sallust, a book of great credit and respectable antiquity, find *die* in the genitive case. The words are these: *Vix decima parte die reliqua*. I cannot allow that the quibble is to be admitted, of understanding *die* as if it were *ex die* ⁴.

⁴ *Ex die.*]—That is, supposing it to be an ablative case, governed by a preposition understood, rather than a particular mode of writing the genitive case.

C H A P. XV.

*Of the species of controversy which the Greeks call
απορος.*

DURING the summer holidays¹, being desirous to retire from the heat of the city, I accompanied Antonius Julianus the rhetorician, to Naples. There happened to be a young man of fortune, studying and exercising himself with his preceptors, in order to plead causes at Rome, and accomplish himself in Latin eloquence: this person entreated Julianus to hear him declaim. Julianus accordingly went to hear him, and I attended him. The young man appeared; and,

¹ *Summer holidays.*—Rome, and what is usually termed the Campagna of Rome, has always been deemed unhealthy in the hotter months of summer. For which reason the wealthier of the old Romans always at this season retired to their country villas. For this purpose Naples was esteemed the most agreeable retirement, though many Romans had country seats in Sicily.

The time of recess from business in Rome, and particularly the business of the courts, was July and August. The same custom of leaving Rome for Naples in summer, still prevails; and is observed by all who travel from motives either of health or curiosity. The salubrity of the air of Naples has been a theme of admiration and praise among poets and descriptive writers, from the time of Augustus to the present period.

beginning

beginning an exordium with rather more arrogance and presumption than became his years, he demanded the subject of controversy² to be proposed. There was with us a follower of Julianus, an ingenious and accomplished young man, who took offence that he should dare, in the presence of Julianus, to risque his reputation by the extreme peril of inconsiderate speaking. By way of trial, therefore, he proposed a controversy not

² *Controversy.*]—These declamatory exercises, the great and only excellence of which consists in quirks and quibbles, incompatible with the dignity of genuine eloquence, fill a whole volume of the works of Seneca. The specimen given in this chapter may perhaps be sufficient to satisfy the reader; and it seems obvious enough, that the discussion of such questions has an unavoidable tendency to pervert the public taste, by substituting levity and impertinence in the place of real wit. Cicero and Quintilian have both of them reprobated, with becoming severity, such idle and useless disputations; and the introduction to Petronius Arbiter, at the same time that it explains to how great a degree these vain declaimers abounded, satisfactorily proves that there were not wanting those of more refined taste, who despised and avoided them.

It appears, as well from this chapter as from various passages in the ancient writers, that the young nobility of Rome had preceptors to instruct them in declaiming on these controversial questions. Of those who attended the instructions of such masters, Petronius says, acutely enough, “*Qui inter hæc nutricentur non magis sapere possunt quam bene olere qui in culina habitant. Pace vestra liceat dixisse primi omnium eloquentiam perdidistis. Levibus enim atque inanibus sonis ludibria quædam excitando effecisti, ut corpus orationis enervaretur et caderet.*”

very consistent, which the Greeks call *απόστολος*; but which in Latin may not very improperly be termed *inexplicable*. The controversy was this: “Suppose seven judges try a prisoner—that judgment is to prevail which the greater number shall determine—the seven judges presided—two of them thought the prisoner should be banished; two of them that he should be fined; the remaining three, that he should be put to death. Punishment is demanded according to the decision of the three, from which the prisoner appeals.”

The young man, as soon as he heard this, without at all considering the matter, or waiting to know what else was to be proposed, began with wonderful rapidity to assert I know not what principles upon this question, and to pour out expressions, distorted from their meaning, and a noisy torrent of high-sounding words. All his companions, who were accustomed to hear him, applauded him with noisy clamour. Julianus all this while was in the greatest perplexity, blushing with confusion. After he had gabbled out many thousands of sentences, we took our leave. His friends and acquaintance following Julianus, desired to know his opinion. “Do not,” he replied, “enquire my opinion; without controversy³, this young man is eloquent.”

³ *Without controversy.*]—It is not possible to transfuse into our language the entire spirit of this pun. The young man had no opponent, but the nature of the controversy required an opponent. The friends of the young man desired to extort

tort some favourable expression from Julianus, whose ambiguous answer implied, both that the declaimer had said little to the purpose, and with nobody to make him any reply.

No praise attends the warrior who returns
To claim the palm of uncontested fields.

C H A P. XVI.¹

That Pliny the Elder, a man by no means unlearned, was not aware of that fallacy of argument, called by the Greeks αντίστρεφον.

PLINY the Elder was thought the most learned man of his time. He left some books, which he termed *Studioſi*, and which indeed are by no means to be despised. In these books he has introduced many things gratifying to the tastes of learned men. He relates a number of sentiments, which, in declamatory controversies, he thinks urged with wit and subtlety,

¹ This is in fact the same subject continued. A similar controversy is agitated in a preceding chapter; where a pupil refuses to pay his master for instructing him. These controversies were also called *vindiciæ*, from *vindico*, to claim. See Festus de verborum significatione, at the word *Vindiciæ*. *Vindiciæ* appellantur res eæ de quibus controversia est.

The lost book, called *Studioſi*, is mentioned with respect by the Younger Pliny.

As this, for example, which he quotes from one of these controversies. “ A brave man is to have the reward which he solicits. One of this description demands the wife of another person, and receives her. He also whose wife this had been, being entitled to the same claim as the former, demands his wife again; which is refused;”

The answer of this latter person demanding his wife to be given him again, is in his opinion very elegant and plausible: “ If the law is valid, restore her; if it is not valid, restore her.” But Pliny did not know that this sentiment, which to him appeared very acute, was liable to the defect which the Greeks term *αντιστρεψον*. It is a fallacy concealed under the false appearance of an argument. Nothing can be more easily applied to contradict itself; and it may be thus replied by the former person, “ If the law is valid, I will not restore her; and if it be not valid, I will not restore her.”

BOOK X.

CHAP. I.

Whether we ought to say tertium, or tertio consul? and how Cnaeus Pompey, when he was about to enroll his honours in the theatre which he consecrated, avoided, by the advice of Cicero, the doubtful usage of that word.

WHEN I was at Athens I sent letters to an intimate friend at Rome, in which I reminded him that I had now written to him (*tertium*) a third time. He, in his answer, requested that I would explain to him the reason why I wrote *tertium* and not *tertiò*. He added a request in the same letter, that I would give him my opinion, whether we ought to say, “ Such an one was made consul *tertium et quartum*, or *tertio et quartio*.” For he had heard a learned man at Rome use the latter term, and not the former.

Moreover,

¹ *The former.*] Mr. Boswell, in his Life of Dr. Johnson, informs us, that his learned friend never used the phrases

Moreover, that Cælius² in the beginning of his book, and Quintus Claudius, in his eleventh chapter, had written, that Caius Marius was created consul (*septimè*) a seventh time.” To this I replied only in the words of Marcus Varro (a man of more learning, in my opinion, than Cælius and Claudius united) by which words each subject he wrote to me upon, was determined. For Varro has clearly enough shewn what ought to be used; nor did I choose to be engaged at a distance in a dispute with a person who had the reputation of being learned.

The words of Marcus Varro, in his fifth book of Rudiments, are these: “ It is one thing to become *prætor quartò*, and another *quartùm*. *Quartò* marks the situation, *quartùm* the time. Ennius has therefore, with propriety, written,

“ *Quintus pater, quartùm fit consul.*”

And Pompey, because in the theatre he would not use either the term *tertiùm* or *tertiò*, has cau-

‘ the former,’ and ‘ the latter,’ from an idea that they frequently occasioned obscurity. They nevertheless are used by our best original writers; and perhaps in a translation it would not only be difficult, but sometimes impossible, to avoid them.

² *Cælius.*] Cælius Antipater, the historian; he wrote an account of the Punic war, and is mentioned by Cicero with respect; not, as Gronovius informs us, in the tract *de Oratore*, but in the 26th chapter of the *Brutus*, or *de Claris Oratoribus*. In this place Cicero commends his perspicuity, calls him a good lawyer, and informs us that he instructed L. Crassus.

tiously omitted the concluding letters. What Varro has briefly and obscurely hinted at concerning Pompey, Tiro Tullius, the freedman of Cicero, in one of his letters, has more fully mentioned in this manner: "When Pompey," says he, "was about to consecrate the temple of Victory, the entrance to which was to serve as a theatre³, and to enroll in it, as in the theatre, his name and titles, it was a subject of debate, whether it should be written *consul tertio* or *tertiū*. Which Pompey, with anxious enquiry, referred to the most eminently learned men of the state:

³ *Serve as a theatre.*] This is at first sight a perplexing passage; and it seems almost impossible to reconcile with the correct taste and real magnificence of the Romans in the time of Pompey, the confounding a theatre and a temple in one edifice. The fact, however, undoubtedly was so; and Pompey, whatever were his motives, erected a temple, the ascent to which formed the seats of a theatre, the area of which was probably so circumstanced and enclosed, as to form one consistent whole. The writers who mention this building, seem at variance one with another, some asserting that it was dedicated to the goddess Victory, others saying it was dedicated to Venus. The truth is, as may be easily collected from comparing what is said by Dion with what Plutarch relates in his Life of Pompey, that it was dedicated to Venus *Victrix*. See Donatus *de Urbe Roma*, l. 3. p. 196.

This unusual epithet of *Victrix* applied to Venus, is thus explained by Varro. Venus is so called, says he, non quod vincere velit, not from her wish to conquer, sed quod vincere et vinciri ipsa velit, but because she wishes to bind others and be bound herself. See also Larcher *sur Venus*, p. 91.

when they were of different opinions, and some proposed *tertiūm*, others *tertiō*, Pompey requested of Cicero to give orders that it should be written according to his opinion. But Cicero, fearing to sit in judgment on men of approved learning, left, by censuring their opinions, he might be thought to censure the men themselves, advised Pompey to use neither *tertiūm* nor *tertiō*, but to write it *tert.* concluding at the second *t*; so that, though the word was incomplete, the fact was told, and the ambiguous usage of a word avoided. But it is not now written in the same theatre, as Varro and Tiro have described; for some years after, when a part of it which had fallen down was repaired, the number of the third consulate was not distinguished as formerly by the first letters *t, e, r, t*; but by three small lines |||” In the 4th Origin of Marcus Cato, we are told, “ The Carthaginians broke their treaty (*sextūm*) a sixth time; which word implies, that they had acted treacherously five times before, and now did so a sixth time. The Greeks also, in distinguishing numbers of this sort, say, $\tau\pi\tau\tau\tau\tau\tau$; which answers to the Latin *tertiūm* and *quartūm*.

C H A P. II.

What Aristotle has recorded of the number of children produced at one birth¹.

THE philosopher Aristotle has recorded, that a woman in Egypt produced at one birth five children; the utmost limit, as he said,

of

For the following note I am indebted to a medical friend, of particular eminence and skill in his profession.

There seems no reason, from the structure of the human uterus, to limit the number of foetuses with which a woman may become pregnant. But we know from experience, that it is not very common to have more than one at a birth. Dr. Garthshore, by comparing a number of registers, found the proportion of twins to be as one to eighty of single children. When twins are produced, they are generally weakly, and reared with difficulty. Triplets are of much less frequent occurrence, not oftener perhaps than once in twenty thousand births, and one or two of them commonly either born dead, or much more diminutive and weak than the third. Four children at a birth is so very rare, that there is no calculating the proportion, probably it does not happen oftener than once in four or five hundred thousand births; a greater number is still less frequent, and the chance of their being at the full time, or of their being all born alive, proportionably less; the uterus seeming scarce capable of such a degree of distention as to permit more than two or three children to attain to maturity; whence it usually happens, that one or two of the most vigorous and thriving children, by

pressing

of human parturition: nor was it ever known that more than that number were born together; and this number, says he, is very unusual. But in the reign of Augustus, the historians of those times relate, that a female servant of Cæsar Au-

pressing upon the others, destroys them while very young and feeble. The instances therefore mentioned in this chapter are rare and uncommon. But we have some similar examples in this country. In the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1736, there is an account of a woman in a milk-cellars in the Strand, who was delivered of three boys and one girl, but it is not said whether they were living or dead. In the same repository, there is an account of a woman in Somersetshire, who was delivered, in March 1739, of four sons and one daughter, who were all christened, and seemed healthy children. Among the writers of medical observations, instances of much more numerous births are frequent; but there is generally so much fable mixed with their accounts, that little credit can be given them. Ambrose Parr, after quoting several stories of women who had been delivered of five, seven, twelve, and one of fifteen fœtuses, says, "Lady Maldemeure, in the parish of Sceaux near Chamberry, was delivered of six children at one birth, one of which succeeds to the title of Maldemeure, and is still living." As this account was published in the country where the family resided, and in the life-time of the young lord, it may, I should suppose, be depended upon as a fact. Dr. Garthshore received an account from Mr. Hull, surgeon at Blackbourne in Lancashire, of a woman who miscarried of five children, in April 1786, in the fifth month of her pregnancy; two of them only were born alive. They were sent to the Royal Society; and are preserved in the museum of the late Mr. John Hunter. The account, with some ingenious observations on the subject of numerous births, is published in the Transactions of the Society for that year.

198 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

gustus, in the province of Laurentum, brought forth five children; that they lived a few days, and that the mother died not long after she had been delivered; that a monument of the fact was erected by the command of Augustus in the Via² Laurentina; and that the number of children she produced (which we have mentioned) was inscribed upon it.

* The road leading to Laurentum.

C H A P. III.

An examination of certain celebrated passages, and a comparison made between the orations of C. Gracchus, M. Cicero, and M. Cato.

CAIUS GRACCHUS is held to have been a powerful and strenuous orator. No one disputes it. But how is it to be borne, that in the eyes of some he appears more dignified, more spirited, more copious than Marcus Tullius¹? Now I was reading lately a speech of Gracchus upon the promulgation of laws, in which, with all the indignation he is master of, he complains that Marcus Marius, and other persons of distinction from the municipal towns of Italy, were injuriously whipped with rods² by the magistrates of

¹ *Than Marcus Tullius.*]—It is certain that Hortensius was a very powerful rival to Cicero, and divided with him the palm of eloquence. This perhaps is the only passage in any ancient writer which even supposes him to have had any other competitor. The parallel betwixt Demosthenes and Cicero, as drawn by Plutarch, is known to every one.

² *With rods.*]—The person of a Roman citizen was in a manner sacred; of which we have a remarkable example in the history of St. Paul. See Acts, chap. xxii. ver. 25.

“ And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?

the Roman people. His words upon this subject are these: “The consul lately came to Theanum³ Sidicinum; he said his wife wished to bathe in the men’s bath. Marcus Marius confided it to the care of the quæstor of Sidicinum, that they who were bathing should be sent away. The wife tells her husband that the baths were not given up to her soon enough, nor were they sufficiently clean. Immediately a post was fixed down in the market-place, and Marcus Marius, the most illustrious man of his city, was led to it; his garments were stripped off, and he was beaten with rods. When the inhabitants of Cales heard this, they passed a decree, that no one should presume to bathe when the Roman magistrates were there. At Ferentum also, our prætor, for a reason of the same sort, ordered the quæstors to be seized. One threw himself from the wall, the other was taken and scourged.”—In a matter so atrocious, in so lamentable and distressing a proof of public injustice, what has he said, either full or

“ When the centurion heard that, he went and told the chief captain, saying, Take heed what thou doest, for this man is a Roman.”

A particular law, called the Lex Porcia, ordained that no one should scourge a Roman citizen. See Livy, l. x. c. 9. “ Porcia tamen lex sola pro tergo civium lata videtur: quod gravi poena si quis verberasset necasset civem Romanum sanxit.”

[*Theanum.*]—This place is now called Tiano, and is in the vicinity of Naples: its adjunct, Sidicinum, now, according to D’Anville, Sezza, was from the ancient inhabitants named Sedecini.

splendid,

splendid, or so as to excite tears or commiseration? What has he spoken expressive of exuberant indignation, or in a spirit of solemn and striking remonstrance? There is indeed a brevity, and terseness, and ornament in his speech, such as we usually find in the elegant wit of the stage. In another place, likewise, Gracchus speaks thus: "One example I will shew you of the licentiousness and intemperance of our young men. Within these few years a young man was sent from Asia as an ambassador, who had not yet been in any magisterial office. He was carried upon a litter, when a herdsman from the peasantry of Venusium met him, and, not knowing what they were carrying, asked in joke whether they were bearing a dead body⁴? Having heard this, he ordered the litter to be set down, and the man to be beaten with the ropes⁵ by which

the man of Venusium was sent to the litter.

⁴ *Bearing a dead body.*]—The original says, *Is in lectica ferebatur.* It was the office of the slaves, who were denominated *Servi Lectori*, to carry out the dead at funerals, *ad funerale levigare*.

⁵ *With ropes.*]—*Struppis.* This was an arbitrary and tyrannical abuse; but the ancient Romans certainly treated their own proper slaves with a cruelty which nothing could possibly excuse or justify. Their power over them extended even to life and death; it was not till the time of Constantine that this barbarous privilege was taken from masters. See Gibbon, vol. i. p. 65. "The progress of manners was accelerated by the virtue or policy of the emperors, and by the edicts of Hadrian and the Antonines, the protection of the laws was extended to the most abject part of mankind. The jurisdiction

the litter was fastened, till he died.”—Now this speech of his, upon so violent and cruel an outrage, differs nothing at all from the style of common conversation. But when, in a similar cause, in which Marcus Tullius was engaged, some innocent Roman citizens are scourged with rods, contrary to law, or put to death, what then is his mode of exciting pity? what is his sympathy? what is his strong representation of the fact before our eyes? how does the current of his indignation and bitterness rage and swell? Truly when I read these things in Cicero, a certain image of him, the very sound of his words, his invocations, his lamentations, take possession of my soul—as, for instance, where he says of Verres, what (all I recollect at present) I have put down as my memory supplied: “ He himself, raging with vice and fury, came into the forum; his eyes glared, and cruelty might be traced in every feature of his countenance. All looked with expectation, to see what act of villainy he would perpetrate; when on a sudden he orders a man to be brought out, to be stripped naked, in the middle of the forum, to be tied up, and the rods to be prepared.” By Hercules, these words alone—“ to be brought out, to be stripped, and

diction of life and death over the slaves, a power long exercised, and often abused, was taken out of private hands, and reserved to the magistrates alone.”

The original is *ſtruppis*, but it ought to be *ſtuppis*, from the Greek *στύπης*, which signifies hemp,

tied

“tied up,” are of such terror-striking and horrible import, that you seem not merely to hear what was done, related, but absolutely to see it perpetrated. But our Gracchus, not in the spirit of one lamenting and complaining, but like a common retailer of a story, is content with saying, “A post was fixed⁶ down in the market-place, his cloaths were stripped off, he was beaten with rods.” But how gloriously does Marcus Cicero speak, when in the full representation of a fact, he says, not “a Roman citizen was scourged,” but “a Roman citizen was in the act of being scourged with rods in the middle of the forum at Messana⁷, when, amidst the anguish of his mind, and the repetition of the blows, not a groan escaped him, nor was a word observed to proceed from the wretched man, but these, ‘I am a citizen of Rome.’ By thus calling to mind his country, he trusted he might defy all their

⁶ *Was fixed.*]—*Palus destitutus*, placed down. See also *Tibullus*, L. 1. E. 1. 14.

Nam *veneror* seu *stipes* *habet* *desertus* in agris.

Where *desertus* means planted down.

The form of the sentence, when any one was to be scourged, was this :

I *lictor* *colliga* *manus* *deliga* ad *palum*.

⁷ *Messana.*]—*Messina*, formerly called *Zancle*. It is too well known to be here described; but the reader will find a most agreeable account of its modern condition in *Brydone's tour through Sicily and Malta*.

stripes,

stripes, and protect his body from torture." Violently too, and with energy and ardour, does he excite compassion in the Roman citizens, and detestation against Verres, when he says, " Oh the beloved name of liberty ! Oh that right of our city, so peculiarly excellent ! Oh the Por-tian and Sempronian laws ! Oh the tribunary authority, grievously wanted, and once allowed to the Roman people ! Have they all then at length fallen to this, that in a Roman province, in a town of our allies, in the public forum, a Roman citizen should be tied up, and scourged with rods, by him who, from the kindness of the Roman people, derived the ensigns of his authority ? What ! when flames, when hot irons, and other instruments of torture, were applied, though the bitter lamentations of the man, though his piteous tone of voice did not soften thee, wert thou unmoved also by the tears, by the repeated groans, of the Roman citizens who stood round ?" Vehemently indeed, with solemnity, with copiousness, and propriety, did Marcus Tullius compassionate these events. But if there be any one of so unpolished, so barbarous an ear, that this splendour, this sweetness of speech, this harmonious position of words, gives him but little pleasure ; or if he prefers the former because, being short, without cultivation, and without labour, they possess a certain native grace, and because there appears in them a certain

certain shade and colour of dark^{*} antiquity; let him examine, if he has any judgment, a speech of Marcus Cato in a similar cause, a man of remoter antiquity, to whose force and copiousness Gracchus never aspired. He will find, I think, that Cato was not content with the eloquence of his own time, but that he attempted to effect that which Cicero afterwards accomplished. For in that book which is entitled, “ *De Falsis Pugnis*,” he thus complained of Quintus Thermus,— he said “ that his provisions had been ill taken care of by the decemviri; he ordered their garments to be stripped off, and themselves to be beaten with rods. The Brutiani scourged the Decemviri, and the eyes of many men beheld the fact. Who can support this insult, this act of tyranny, this slavery? No king had dared to do this; and do you, who are men of honour, allow these things to be done towards honourable men, who are sprung from honourable parents? Where are the bonds of society? where the faith of our ancestors? that you have dared to perpetrate these pointed injuries, tortures, blows, stripes, and pains, and butcheries, upon those whom, to our disgrace and insult, your own countrymen beheld, with many others? But how great grief, how many groans, how many tears, how much

* *Dark antiquity.*]—For *opacæ vetustatis* some would here read *opicæ vetustatis*. See *Miscel. Observ. in Auctores Veteres et Recentes*, Vol. IV. p. 437. That is rude or rustic antiquity, but the alteration seems of no material importance. lamentation,

lamentation, have I heard ! Slaves do not easily brook injuries ; but what spirit do you think they possess, and ever while they live will possess, who are of illustrious descent, and distinguished virtue ?" When Cato said the " Brutiani scourged them," lest any one should enquire concerning the Brutiani, this is the meaning of the passage : When Hannibal the Carthaginian was with his army in Italy, and had fought some battle against the Romans, the Brutii⁹ were the first inhabitants of Italy who revolted to Hannibal. The Romans, offended at this, after Hannibal left Italy, and the Carthaginians were overthrown, called this people by the ignominious distinction of the Brutii, neither employing them as soldiers, nor considering them as allies, but they commanded them to obey and wait upon the magistrates who went into the provinces, and to serve them as slaves. They accordingly went about

⁹ *Brutii.*]—When Hannibal invaded Italy, many of the Italian states revolted from the Romans, and united themselves with the Carthaginians. When Carthage was finally subdued, many of these states returned to their allegiance to Rome, and many were subdued by arms. These latter were treated with great severity, and reduced almost to a state of servitude, some of them, like the Gibeonites of old, being little better than hewers of wood and drawers of water. The Brutii, for example, were treated like their slaves, attendant upon stage performances, and called Lorarii. These seem to have been persons whose business it was to inflict punishment upon their fellow slaves. The act of severity here mentioned was imposed upon the Brutii by Publius Sulpicius Galba, when dictator.

with

with the magistrates, like those who in the play are called beadle's, whose office was (when ordered) to bind people and scourge them. They who came from Brutium were called Bruttiani.

C H A P. IV.

That Publius Nigidius, with great sophistry, taught that words were not arbitrary but natural.¹

PUBLIUS NIGIDIUS, in his Grammatical Commentaries, shews that names and words are fixed, not by accidental application, but by a certain power and order of nature; a subject much celebrated in the dissertations of philosophers, amongst whom it was a question, “Whether words are from nature or application?” Upon this matter he uses many arguments, to prove that they appear rather natural

¹ Muretus, in his first chapter, book xiii. of his Various Readings, laughs at Nigidius for these fanciful opinions. Nigidius, he supposes, borrowed them of Chrysippus; and he concludes his animadversions in these words: “ We could hardly believe that these chimerical things had been said by such eminent men, did we not learn from Varro, that it is not possible for a disordered person to dream any thing so absurd, which has not been seriously asserted by some philosopher or other.”

than

than arbitrary, amongst which this seems ingenuous and jocose: “ When,” says he, “ we speak the word *vos* (you), we use a certain motion of the mouth, agreeing with what the word itself expresses; we protrude by degrees the tips of our lips, and thrust forward our breath and mind towards those with whom we are engaged in conversation. On the other hand, when we say *nos* (we), we do not pronounce it with a broad and expanded blast of the voice, nor with projecting lips, but we restrain our breath and lips, as it were within ourselves. This same rule takes place likewise in the words *tu* and *ego*, *tibi* and *mibi*. For as, when we consent or disagree, a certain motion of the head or the eyes corresponds with the nature of the thing expressed; so in the pronunciation of these words there is a certain natural manner and spirit. In Greek words too the same rule is in force which we fancy prevails in our own.”

C H A P. V.

Whether *avarus* ¹ be a simple word, or, as it appears to *P. Nigidius*, a compound one.

IN the twenty-ninth of his Commentaries *Nigidius* affirms, that the word *avarus* is not a simple but a compound word. That man (says he) is called *avarus* (covetous) who is *avidus aeris* (fond of money); but in the union of the two words the letter *e* is worn away. So he says a man is called *locupletem* (rich) who holds *pleraque loca*, that is many possessions. What he says of *locuples* is more plausible, and stronger; but as to the word *avarus*, there is doubt. For why may it not seem to be derived from the single word *aveo* (to covet), and of the same formation as *amarus*, of which it can only be said that it is not a compound word?

¹ *Vossius* and others have supposed that *avarus* may be derived from *avidus auri*; and *locuples*, some are of opinion, is formed of *loculi pleni*.

CHAP. VI.

A fine was imposed by the ædiles of the people¹ upon the daughter of Appius Cæcus, a woman of rank, for speaking impertinently.

SO inviolable did the dignity of the Roman discipline deem it necessary to preserve itself, that public punishment was inflicted not on crimes only, but even on disrespectful words; for the daughter of Appius Cæcus², going from the theatre, where she had been a spectator of the games, was pushed about by the multitude of people every where crowding in upon her. Endeavouring to extricate herself, she complained that she was ill: “And what,” says she, “must now have become of me, how much more closely should I

¹ *Ædiles of the people.*]—The ædiles of the people are to be distinguished from the curule ædiles. The first were elected from the Plebeians, as assistants to the tribunes, and to determine lesser causes; the latter were elected from the Patricians. The same fact is related by Valerius Maximus, l. 8. De Judiciis Publicis, where other examples are enumerated of severe punishments inflicted capriciously for trifling offences.

² *Appius Cæcus.*]—This was the Appius from whom the Appian Way took its name, and he is also celebrated for advising the senate, on the invasion of Italy by Pyrrhus, not to enter into any treaty of peace with the king till he should first have evacuated the territories of the republic.

have

have been pressed upon, if my brother Claudius had not lost his fleet of ships in the sea-fight, together with a vast number of citizens? Surely I should then have been quite overwhelmed with the still greater influx of people. Oh that he were alive again! that he might conduct another fleet into Sicily, and carry that multitude to destruction, which has now harassed me almost to death!" For these impudent and offensive words, C. Fundanius, and Tib. Sempronius, ædiles of the people, imposed upon her a fine of twenty-five thousand solid pounds of brass³. Capito Atticus, in his Commentary upon Public Decisions, says, this was done in the first Punic war, in the consulate of Fabius Licinius and Titus Acilius Crassus.

³ *Solid pounds of brass.*]—*Æris gravis.* The most learned commentators differ about the meaning of this expression. Servius explains it to be lumps of uncoined brass. The standard varied at different times, according to the abundance or scarcity of money; probably *æs grave* was used to mean the full ancient standard. The fine imposed on this occasion amounted to about twenty-five pounds of our money.

CHAP. VII.

Marcus Varro, as I remember, writes, that of those rivers which flow beyond the limits of the Roman empire, that of the first magnitude is the Nile, of the second the Danube, and next the Rhone.

OF all those rivers which flow within the confines of the Roman empire into the sea, called by the Greeks *την εἰω θαλασσαν*, it is agreed that the greatest is the Nile¹. Sallust has af-

firmed

[The Nile.]—Every thing which relates to the magnitude and excellence of this river I took pains to collect, in my notes to the second book of Herodotus, to which I beg leave to refer the reader. Ovid represents the Danube as equal to the Nile—

Innumerique alii quos inter maximus amnes
Cedere Danubius se tibi Nile negat.

Ausonius calls the Danube second to the Nile—

—tibi Nile secundus
Danubius.

Arrian calls the Danube *την ποταμων κατα της Ευρωπης μεγιστην*. It is described at considerable length in the *Melpomene* of Herodotus. See my translation of that work, Vol. II. p. 225. Its ancient name was Danau; see Bryant. Milton thus speaks of the Rhine and the Danube—

A multitude

firmed that the Danube is the next in extent; but Varro, when he descanted upon that part of the world which is called Europe, places the Rhone amongst the three first rivers in that quarter of the globe, by which he seems to consider it as a rival of the Danube; for the Danube flows likewise in Europe.

A multitude like which the populous North
Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to pass
Rhene or the Danaw.

Spenser also calls it the Danaw.

C H A P. VIII.

That amongst the disgraceful punishments¹ by which soldiers were restrained, was the letting of blood; and what was the apparent reason of this.

IT was formerly a military sentence, to disgrace a soldier by ordering a vein to be opened, and blood to be taken from him. The reason of which is no where mentioned, that I can find, in the old records. But I suppose it was first practised towards soldiers, who were scarcely in their sences, and whose mind wandered from its usual habit, that it appears to have been not so much a punishment as a medical application. Afterwards, however, the same remedy perhaps was habitually applied, for many and various offences, as if all who committed crimes were seemingly unsound in mind.

¹ *Punishments.*]—The account which Gellius gives of the motive of this singular punishment, will hardly be deemed satisfactory, I find the following opinion concerning it in the Various Readings of Muretus, l. xiii. p. 199—“Ego id factum puto, ut sanguinem quem cum gloria fundere pro patria noluerant, eum cum ignominia amitterent.” I think it was done that they might lose that blood with ignominy, which they were unwilling to spill with glory for their country. An explanation which, to me, seems reasonable enough.

C H A P. IX.

By what means and in what form the Roman army is usually drawn up; and what are the names of their divisions.

THERE are military terms¹ applied to an army drawn up in a certain manner, as the front, the reserve, the wedge, the ring, the squadron, the sheers, the saw, the wings, the towers; these and other terms you may find in our writers upon military topics. But they are taken from the things which are properly so called; and in the drawing up of an army the forms of those things which each word expresses, are represented.

¹ *Military terms.*]—All these will be found, with their several explanations, in Vegetius, Frontinus, Polybius, and others, and particularly in Lipsius *de Militia Romana*.

C H A P. X.

Why the ancient Greeks and the Romans wore a ring upon the last finger but one of the left hand.

WE have been told that the ancient Greeks had a ring upon the last finger but one of the left hand. They say too that the Romans usually wore their's in the same manner. Appion, in his books upon Ægypt, says, the reason of it is this, “ That by dissecting and laying open human bodies, as the custom was in Ægypt, which the Greeks call anatomy, it was discovered

* *Wore a ring.*]—Much might be written on the subject of rings as worn by the ancients, and by the Romans in particular. They had their summer and their winter rings, their rings of dress and undress; some they wore only at home, others only abroad. It was the distinction of the gentleman from the slave, who, when made free, had a ring given him. Before they were free, slaves wore rings of iron. Ignorant people yet imagine that the wedding-ring is worn on the fourth finger of the left hand for the reason assigned in this chapter, namely, that from this finger there is some delicate nerve communicating with the heart. But this idea is properly exposed by Brown, in his *Vulgar Errors*. The chapter is too long to transcribe, but the whole is curious and entertaining, and well deserves the reader's attention. The ancients carried their superstitious prejudices with respect to this finger to so great a degree, that they mixed up their medicines with it.

that

that from that finger only, of which we have spoken, a very fine nerve proceeded, and passed quite to the heart: wherefore it does not seem without reason, that that finger should particularly be honoured with such an ornament, which seemed to be a continuation of, and as it were united with, the principle of the heart."

C H A P. XI.

*The meaning and formation of the word maturè; the common usage of it improper.—Likewise that the word præcox makes, in the genitive case, not præcoquis, but præcocus.*¹

ACCORDING to our present usage of the word, *maturè* (maturely) signifies *properè* and *citò* (quickly, with expedition), contrary to the true meaning of the word. For *maturè* means one thing, and *properè* another. Publius Nigidius, a man of distinguished eminence in all scientific pursuits, says, that *maturè* means neither too soon nor too late, but has a certain middle signification. Well and properly has Nigidius

¹ The subject of this chapter is discussed also by Macrobius, who indeed was no more than the echo of Gellius. See Satur. l. 3.

said this; for in corn and in fruits those are said to be mature, which are neither crude and unripe, nor mellow and falling, but grown and ripened in their full time; but because that has been called maturely done, which has been done with attention, so the meaning of the word has been carried much farther, and a thing is now said to be done maturely, because it is done quickly, not because it is done without indolence. Whereas those things which are hastened beyond moderation, may be more truly called immature. But Nigidius's middle signification of the word, Augustus most elegantly expressed in two Greek words², which he was accustomed to use in his conversation, and his letters, “Σπευδε Εραστες.” By which he recommended, that to accomplish any thing we should use the promptness of diligence, with the delay of carefulness. From

² *Two Greek words.*]—The correspondent phrase in Latin is *festina lente*; concerning which proverb consult Erasmus, who has discussed it at considerable length, drawing a parallel betwixt the characters of Agamemnon, whose distinction was the *lente*, and that of Achilles, whose characteristic was *haste*. We have many modern proverbs of similar import.

The French say—“Qui trop se haste en cheminant, en beau chemin se fourvoye souvent.” “He that walks too hastily, often stumbles in plain way.”

The Italians say—“Presto et bene non si conviene.” “Hastily and well do not come together.”

Sir Amias Paulet used this expression—“Tarry a little, that we may make an end the sooner.”

which

which two opposite qualifications springs *maturity*. Virgil also has very wisely separated (if one observes) the words *properare* and *maturare*, as having opposite meanings:—

Frigidus Agricolam si quando continet imber,
Multæ, forent quæ mox cœlo *properanda* sereno,
Maturare datur.

“ Whenever the winter³ rains confine the husbandman at home, many things may be done at leisure which afterwards, when the weather is fair, would be done in a hurry.”

Most elegantly has he distinguished between these two words; for in rural affairs, during rainy seasons, the labour may be done at leisure, which in fine weather must be done in haste. But when any thing is to be expressed which is done in too hurrying and speedy a manner, then it may be more properly called *prematurely* than *maturely* done. As Afranius⁴, in his play called the *Noxos*, says,

Appetis dominatum demens *prematurè* præcocem.

³ Whenever the winter.]—I have used the interpretation of Martyn, Vol. II. p. 74.

⁴ Afranius.]—The fragments of this comic poet are collected in the *Corpus Poetarum* of Mattaire. He lived about one hundred years before Christ. He is mentioned by Quintilian, who censures him for obscenity. Fragments of his works are also found in H. Stevens’s collection.

226 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

The foolish youth, with wishes premature,
Wou'd rule, ere yet his right to rule is sure.

In which line it must be observed, he uses *præcoem*, not *præcoquem*; for the nominative case is not *præcoquis* but *præcox*.

CHAP. XII.

Of certain marvellous tales which Pliny¹ the Elder most unjustly ascribes to Democritus the philosopher; likewise of the flying model of a pigeon.

PLINY the Elder relates, in the twenty-eighth chapter of his Natural History, that there is a book of that most excellent philosopher Democritus, upon the Power and Nature

¹ Some of the commentators remark, that Gellius never introduces the name of Pliny, but to censure him. In the present instance he has certainly censured him unjustly, for in his preface to the very book where the circumstances here mentioned are recorded, Pliny does not scruple to call them mendacia Græcæ vanitatis. He adds also, that many accomplished men doubted whether this book, ascribed to Democritus, were really written by him.

of the Cameleon², which he had read; and he hands down to us many foolish and intolerable absurdities, as if written by Democritus, of which unwillingly, for they distress me, I remember these—That the hawk, which is the swiftest of birds, if he happens to fly over the cameleon when lying upon the ground, is drawn down, and falls with a degree of force upon the earth, and becomes a spontaneous prey, to be torn in pieces by the other birds. There is likewise another story past human belief—That if the head and neck of the cameleon be set on fire with the wood called oak, on a sudden rain and thunder is produced; and that the same thing usually happens, if the liver of that animal be burnt upon the top of a house. There is moreover another relation, but so very preposterous that I hesitated about retailing it; however, I have laid it down as a rule, that we ought to speak what we think, of that fallacious seduction, by which men of the greatest wisdom, and particularly those who are ambitious of instruction, are betrayed into by the power of admiration, even to their ruin. But

² *Cameleon.*]—Many ridiculous stories concerning this animal have obtained belief, even in modern times. A vulgar opinion yet prevails, that it subsists wholly by air. But this is proved to be false, by the concurring testimonies of the most accomplished naturalists, and is indeed evident from the very structure of the animal. It has not only a tongue but teeth, both of which would be useless if air constituted its only nutriment: and the tongue is peculiarly constructed for the purpose of catching insects.

I return to Pliny:—“ The left foot,” says he, “ of the cameleon is roasted before a hot iron and a fire, with an herb called by the same name, cameleon: each is mixed up in an ointment, formed into a paste, and thrown into a wooden vessel; and he who carries that vessel, though he be openly in the midst of people, can be seen by no one.” Such are the wonderful and delusive tales written by Plinius Secundus. Nor can I think that worthy the name of Democritus, which the same Pliny, in his tenth book, asserts that Democritus wrote, namely, that by pronouncing certain words, and sprinkling the blood of certain birds, a serpent was produced, which whoever accomplished could interpret the language and conversation of birds. Many stories of this sort appear to have been given in the name of Democritus by ignorant men, who sheltered themselves under the rank and authority of Pliny.

But that which Archytas³ the Pythagorean is related to have devised and accomplished, is not

³ *Archytas.*]—Of the great skill of the ancients in mechanics we have various and sufficient testimonies; and the name of Archimedes alone, as it is observed by Mr. Dutens, in his Enquiry into the Origin of the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns, would afford sufficient matter for a volume.

Archytas lived at the same time with Plato, and his wooden pigeon has been celebrated by various writers. His life is given by Diogenes Laertius, who tells us that he was the friend and correspondent of Plato.

The following is extracted from Middleton’s celebrated Letters from Rome, p. 210.

not less marvellous, though it appears less absurd; for many men of eminence among the Greeks, and Favorinus the philosopher, a most vigilant searcher into antiquity, have, in a most positive manner, assured us, that the model of a pigeon formed in wood by Archytas, was so contrived, as by a certain mechanical art and power to fly: so nicely was it balanced by weights, and put in motion by hidden and enclosed air. In a matter so very improbable we may be allowed to add the words of Favorinus himself: “ Archytas of Tarentum, being both a philosopher and skilled in mechanics, made a wooden pigeon, which had it ever settled would not have risen again till now.”

“ In the cathedral church of Ravenna I saw, in Mosaic work, the pictures of those archbishops of the place who, as all their historians affirm, were chosen for several ages successively by the special designation of the Holy Ghost, who, in a full assembly of the clergy and people, used to descend visibly on the person elect in the shape of a dove. If the fact of such a descent be true, it will easily be accounted for by a passage in Aulus Gellius (whence the hint was probably taken) who tells us of Archytas the philosopher and mathematician, that he formed a pigeon of wood so artificially, as to make it fly by the power of mechanism just as he directed it. And we find from Strada, that many tricks of this kind were actually contrived for the diversion of Charles the Fifth, in his monastery, by one Turrianus, who made little birds fly out of the room and back again, by his great skill in machinery.”

C H A P. XIII.

The reason why the ancients said partim¹ hominum.

WE often use the phrase “partim hominum venerunt,” which means part of the men came, that is, some men. For the word *partim* is here an adverb, nor is it declined by cases. Thus we may say, “cum partim hominum,” that is, with some men, or with a certain portion of men. Marcus Cato has thus written, in his speech upon the Florian affair: “There, like a woman of the town, she stole from the entertainment to the couch, and with (*partim illorum*) different parties of them, acted in the same manner.” Ignorant people, when they read “partim,” supposed it declined like a noun, not spoken as an adverb. But Quintus Clodius, in the 21st of his Annals, has used this figure in rather a more singular manner: “Enim² cum *partim*

¹ *Partim* is in fact the accusative case of the old nominative *partis*, the meaning is, “according to the part;” which interpretation will be found sufficient wherever the word *partim* occurs. It is in fact a Græcism.

² *Enim.*]—This sentence is at any rate imperfect, and probably corrupt. As it could not possibly convey any idea to an English reader, I have merely inserted the words in the text.

copiis *hominum* adolescentium placentem sibi." He has likewise, in his 23d Annal, these words : "Sed id circa³ me fecisse quod utrum negligenta *partim* magistratum, an avaritia, an calamitate populi Romani evenisse dicam, nescio."

* *Sed id circa.*]—I was induced to act thus, being unable to say whether it happened from the negligence of part of the magistrates, or from avarice, or the calamity of the Roman people.

CHAP. XIV.

*By what arrangement of words Cato said “Inuria
mihi factum itur.”*

I HEAR the phrases “*illi injuriam factum iri*,” and “*contumeliam dictum iri*,” spoken universally, and it is certain that this is a common mode of speech, examples are therefore unnecessary. But “*contumelia illi*,” or “*inuria factum itur*,” is somewhat more remote. We will produce an example: Marcus Cato, defending himself against Caius Cassius, says—“And thus it came to pass, O Romans, that in the insult which, by the insolence of this man, is about to be cast upon me (quæ mihi per hujusce petulantiam *factum itur*), I have cause also to compassionate the commonwealth.” But as “*contumeliam factum iri*” signifies “to go to do an injury,” that is, to endeavour that an injury be done, so “*contumelia factum iri*,” in the nominative case, means the same thing.

² *Inuria.*]—There is no great acuteness of criticism displayed in this chapter. The sentence, as it now stands, can never be considered as pure Latin. It is by no means improbable that originally it was written *injuriam*, which makes the construction natural and easy.

CHAP. XV.

*On the ceremonies of the priest and priestess of Jupiter, and some words cited from the prætor's edict, in which he declares he will not compel either the vestal virgins or the priests of Jupiter to take an oath.*¹

NUMEROUS are the ceremonies imposed upon the priest of Jupiter, and many are the circumstances² concerning them, which are collected in the books upon the priesthood, and which we read in the first book of *Fabius Pictor*³. Of which these are the principal articles we can bring to mind: First, “ The priest of Jupiter

¹ This chapter is in some places exceedingly perplexed, and doubtless corrupt. Many of the injunctions and prohibitions are, according to our conception, so contrary to all meaning and common sense, that I found it altogether impossible to satisfy myself in my attempts to make them intelligible to the English reader. I have only to say that I have done my best.

² *Circumstances.*]—What I have thus rendered appears, in various editions of Gellius, *caſtus*, *cautus*, and *casus*.

³ *Fabius Pictor.*]—This personage is celebrated by *Livy* as the most ancient of the Roman historians. He lived about 216 years before Christ, or 500 after the building of the city.

is forbidden to ride on horseback⁴: he must not see the soldiers marshalled without the city walls: seldom⁵ therefore is the priest elected consul, because the conduct of the wars was usually committed to the consuls. It is never lawful for the priest to take an oath: he is not allowed to wear a ring unless it be hollow⁶ and perforated: it is not lawful for a flame to be carried from the house of the priest, unless for the purposes of religion: if a person bound enters his house he must be unbound, the bonds must be taken through the gutter to the roof, and thence thrown into the road: he has no knot on his cap, or cincture, or in any part of his dress: if any one

⁴ *On horseback.*]—This is a prohibition not very easy to explain. It appears to have been thought necessary to pay the Flamen Dialis every mark of honour. To ride on horseback was always deemed honourable; why then deny this character alone so great a convenience and comfort? The latent intention might be, to prevent his becoming too familiar by appearing frequently in public.

⁵ *Seldom.*]—The Flamen Dialis had from his office a seat in the senate, a distinction which no other priest enjoyed. He might, therefore, if such was his temper and propensities, occasionally interfere in political discussions; and by rendering himself an object of popular favour, might eventually be proposed as a candidate, and elected to the first office in the state.

⁶ *Hollow.*]—As all rings are hollow, it is not easy to comprehend what is here intended. It may mean a ring without a gem or stone; or more probably a ring, the circle of which had holes stamped in it.

is going to be flogged, and falls suppliant⁷ at his feet, he may not be punished on that day: no one but a free man may shave the Dialis: he may not touch or even name a she-goat⁸, raw flesh, or ivy, or a bean: he may not cut the long shoots of a vine: the foot of the bed in which he sleeps must have a thin coat of clay: he must not sleep from this bed three nights together; nor might any one sleep in this bed, nor at the foot of it might there be a chest with any

⁷ *Falls suppliant.*]—Dr. Russel, in his entertaining History of Aleppo, tells us, it is usual for the Syriac christians to fall prostrate before their bishop, an act of servile obsequiousness, without example in any other period of the church. In the East, indeed, the most humble prostration is practised from the vulgar towards the great, and the contagion probably, from time and circumstance, has been allowed to pollute an institution whose character is modesty and simplicity, and which revolts at such acts of humiliation from one frail being to another.

⁸ *A she-goat.*]—This abhorrence of a goat does not seem very complimentary to the priest's great patron, Jupiter. The god, it seems, was nursed by a goat, to whose horn, *cornu Amaltheæ*, he gave what has been celebrated by numberless poets of ancient and modern times. The curious observer will find a remarkable resemblance in the peculiarities enjoined to the Flamen Dialis, and the observancies which the Levitical law required of the high priest of the Jews. The high priest might not touch a body: he might not go into the open air when the anointing oil was upon him. See also the description of the high priest's holy garments. There were many more peculiarities relating to the Flamen Dialis than are mentioned here. See in particular Plutarch's Roman Questions.

sacred cakes: the cuttings of his nails and hair must be buried under a tree of the auspicious kind⁹: with him, every day is holy¹⁰: he must not be in the air without his cap: it has not long been determined by the priests that he should go without it in the house." Massurius Sabinus writes, that many of these peculiarities and ceremonious observances were remitted: "He might not touch any fermented meal: he did not put off his inner garment unless under cover, that he might not be naked in the air, that is in the eye of Jupiter: no one might take place of the Dialis at an entertainment, unless he who presided at the sacrifice¹¹: if he lost his wife, he lost his office: his marriage could not be dissolved but by death: he never enters a place of interment: he never

⁹ *Auspicious kind.*]—Many trees were deemed of the inauspicious kind, such were trees that bore no fruit; others were thought unlucky which bore fruit of a black kind.

¹⁰ *Is holy.*]—The readings here are so various as to render the translation of the passage extremely difficult. We find *fertatus*, *festatus*, *feriatus*, &c. &c. I have adopted the last. There were in every month *dies feriati*, but to the Flamen Dialis, as I have rendered the passage, every day was *dies feriatus*.

¹¹ *Who presided at the sacrifice.*]—*Rex sacrificatus*. In the time of the kings it was deemed a good omen for the king to be present at the sacrifices, and taking the auspices. This therefore they thought necessary to continue in form after they became a republic. He therefore who presided at the sacrifice, on whatever occasion it was offered, was termed *Rex sacrificatus* or *sacerorum*.

touches

touches a dead body, but might attend a funeral¹². It is said that the priestesses of Jupiter, on their parts, observed nearly the same ceremonies. The garment of the priestess was dyed: she had some twig of an auspicious tree twisted round her hood¹³: she might not go more than three steps up a ladder, unless of these which are called *κλιμακες*¹⁴: when she went to the Argei¹⁵ she might neither

¹² *Might attend a funeral.*]—It seems a little remarkable that he should be allowed to attend a funeral, when it is certain that there was always a kind of bellman or trumpeter, who went before at funerals, that the Flamen Dialis might keep out of the way. See *Magius de Tintinnabulis*.

“ Erant et alii codonophori qui atrati funus præcedebant. Funeri autem adhiberi consuevit arbitror, tum ut ad spectandam funebrem pompam homines accerferentur, tum ut Flaminem Dialem admönerent funeris, ne ille ex improviso funeri occurreret et funebribus tibiis auditis polueretur.”

¹³ *Hood.*]—*Rica*. This word is of very unusual occurrence. I find it thus explained in *Terentius Varro*; “ *Sic rica a ritu quod Romano ritu sacrificium feminæ cum faciunt, capita velant.*”

¹⁴ *Κλιμακες.*]—This is an obscure passage, and to me at least not perfectly intelligible. *Κλιμαξ* is a part of a wagon, (see *Pollux in voce*) and it is not improbable but it might mean some particular kind of ladder enclosed behind. The reason of this prohibition was, doubtless, to prevent any body seeing what they ought not. Falster refers to the following passage in *Exodus*, ch. xx. ver. 26. Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.

¹⁵ *Argei.*]—There were places in Rome consecrated by Numa, where sacrifices were offered, called Argei. According to Varro, there were twenty-four of these.

232 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

comb her head nor dress her hair." I have subjoined the Prætor's standing edict, concerning the Flamēn Dialis and the priestess of Vesta: "I will not compel the priestess of Vesta, or the Flamen Dialis, in the whole of my jurisdiction, to take an oath." These are the words of Varro, in his second book of Divine Things, concerning the Flamen Dialis: "He alone has a white cap, either because he is the greatest in his profession, or because a white victim¹⁶ should be immolated to Jupiter."

¹⁶ *White victim.*]—In all magic rites, and in particular to the infernal deities, black victims were sacrificed, but to the celestial gods white victims were offered. It was necessary also, at least on some occasions, that the altar should be white:

—*Hoste repulso*
Candida Pistori ponitur ara Jovi.

OVID.

See the same author in another place,—

Alba Jovi grandior agna cadit.

We have also this expression in Virgil, Georg. ii. ver. 146.

Hinc albi Clitumne greges et maxima tauris
Victima.

C H A P. XVI.

Certain historical errors which Julius Higinus points out in the sixth book of Virgil.

HIGINUS censures Virgil, and thinks he would have corrected a passage in his sixth book. Palinurus is in the shades below, requiring of Æneas that he would take care to find out his body, and give it burial. He speaks thus—

Eripe¹ me his invicte malis: at tu mihi ter-
ram
Injice (namque potes) portusque require Ve-
linos.

For how, says he, could Palinurus be acquainted with, or mention the port of Velia? How could Æneas discover the place from that name; since the town of Velia, from which he has called the

• *Eripe.]*—Thus translated by Dryden—

Redeem from this reproach my wand'ring ghost,
Or with your navy seek the Veline coast,
And in a peaceful grave my corpse compose.

I do not know whether the reader will be satisfied with the vindication of this passage which occurs in Turnebus; see his *Adversari. 435.* *Velinus*, says the critic, in this place means no more than *palustris*, it is the same therefore as if he had said *require portum palustrem*. Virgil is certainly guilty of an anachronism.

harbour there the Velian, was founded in the province of Lucania, and so named when Servius Tullius reigned at Rome, more than six hundred years after Æneas came into Italy? For, he adds, they who were driven from Phocis by Harpalus², an officer of king Cyrus, built, some of them, Velia, and some of them Massilia. Most absurdly therefore does he require that Æneas should find out the harbour of Velia, when at that time such a name was no where known. Nor ought that similar mistake to appear which occurs in the first book—

Italiam³ fato profugus Lavinaque venit
Littora.

A like mistake occurs in the sixth book,

Chalcidicaque levis tandem superastitit arce.

Although to the poet himself it may sometimes be allowed to relate by anticipation, in his own person, facts which he might know took place

• *Harpalus.*]—Ammianus Marcellinus, and Solinus, call this man Harpalus, but Herodotus, Pausanias, and the older writers, write his name Harpagus. See an account of his exploits in Herodotus, Vol. I. p. 115, &c. in my translation.

³ *Italian, &c.*]—This kind of anticipation is very frequent, and surely very allowable in poetry. A sublime use of it is made by Milton, when Adam hears from the angel an account of his posterity. All that Virgil remarks about Carthage is liable to the same objection, but no commentator that I know of has reprehended him for this.

afterwards. As Virgil knew of the city Lavinium, and the colony of Chalcis. But how could Palinurus know circumstances that happened six hundred years after his time, unless one can imagine, that in the shades he had the power of divination, as indeed the souls of the deceased have? But if you understand it thus, though it is not thus expressed, yet how could Æneas, who had not the power of divining, find out the Veline port; the name of which, as we said before, did not anywhere exist. He censures likewise another passage in the same book, and thinks Virgil would have corrected it, had not death prevented him: For, says he, when he had named Theseus amongst those who had visited the shades below and returned—

Quid Theseus⁴? magnum
Quid memorem Alcidem⁵? et mihi genus ab Jove
summo.

Afterwards,

* *Theseus.*]—For Theseus in this place some authors would read Tereus. The reader will not here forget, that precisely as Virgil, in this book, conducts Æneas to the shades below, Ulysses, in the Odysssey, is sent there by Homer. Mention is made by Pausanias of the descent of Theseus to the regions below by Hesiod; but this work is not come down to us. The popular story of Theseus is too well known to have a place here.

Jortin speaks thus of this passage, in his sixth Dissertation:—

Sedet aeternumque sedebit.

This

Afterwards, however, he adds,

Sedet, æternumque sedebit,
Infelix Theseus.

But how could it happen that he should for ever remain in the shades, whom before he mentions with those who had gone down thither and returned again, particularly when the story of Theseus says, that Hercules tore him from the rock, and dragged him into light? He says too this Virgil falls into a mistake in these verses :

Eruet ille Argos, Agamemnoniasque Myce-
nas,
Ipsumque Æaciden genus armipotentis A-
chilli,
Ultus avos Trojæ, templa et temperata Mi-
nervæ.

He Argos shall o'erturn, Mycene's walls,
And of Achilles' race Æacides,
Troy's fall avenging, and Minerva's shrines.

He has confounded, says he, different persons and times, for the battle with the Achæans and Pyr-

This alone will not perhaps fully prove the eternity of punishments; for both the word *æternus* itself is sometimes of a lax signification, as every learned man knows, and *sedet æternumque sedebit* may mean, ' there he fits, and there he will fit always,' namely as long as he remains in Tartarus. If this interpretation be admitted, the objection in this chapter falls to the ground.

rhus neither happened at the same time, nor between the same persons. For Pyrrhus, whom he calls the descendant of Æacus, passing over from Epirus into Italy, engaged with the Romans when Marcus Curius was their leader. But the Argive, that is, the Achæan war, was carried on many years after by Lucius Mummius, imperator. The middle verse therefore, says he, may be omitted, which very unseasonably treats of Pyrrhus ; and which Virgil, without a doubt, intended to have left out.

C H A P. XVII.*

For what reason, and in what manner, the philosopher Democritus deprived himself of his eye-sight; and the pure and elegant verses of Laberius upon that subject.

IT is told, in the records of Grecian history, that the philosopher Democritus, a man to be reverenced beyond all others, and of high authority, spontaneously deprived himself of sight, because he thought his contemplations and the exercises of his mind would be more exact in examining the laws of nature, if he should free them from

* The circumstance related in this chapter, most incredible in itself, is positively denied by Plutarch, and doubted by Cicero. Neither is it mentioned by Laertius or Hesychius, but allusions to it are to be found in a multitude of writers. It is generally asserted and believed, that the privation of any one sense will necessarily make the others more acute and perfect. The beautiful apostrophe of Milton will here occur to most of my readers,—

Wisdom, at one entrance quite shut out,
So much the rather, thou celestial light,
Shine inward, and the mind thro' all her powers
Irradiate; there plant eyes, all mist from thence
Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight.

What

from the allurements of sight, and the burthen of his eyes. The poet Laberius, in a play called the Rector, has described in some elegant and finished verses, this fact, and the manner in which, by an ingenious contrivance, he became blind. But he has feigned another instance of voluntary blindness, and has applied it not without elegance to his own purpose. The character which speaks them in Laberius is that of a rich and covetous man, lamenting the excessive extravagance and dissipation of his son. The verses are these :

Democritus, Abdera's far-fam'd son,
 Plac'd a bright mirror 'gainst the star of day,
 That his fair sight might perish by the blaze ;
 And thus his eyes, extinguish'd by the sun,
 Might ne'er the wicked prosperous behold ;
 So do I wish the splendour of my gold,
 My life's remoter limit to obscure,
 Rather than see my prodigal possess it.

What is here told of Democritus, and his voluntary blindness, bears some resemblance to the idea of Gray, in the following bold and animated description,—

Nor second he who rode sublime
 Upon the seraph wings of extacy,
 The secrets of th' abyss to spy.
 He pass'd the flaming bounds of space and time,
 The living throne, the sapphire blaze,
 Where angels tremble while they gaze.
 He saw—but blasted with excess of light,
 Clos'd his eyes in endless night.

C H A P. XVIII.

Story of Artemisia¹, and of the games instituted by her in memory of Mausolus, wherein celebrated writers contended.

ARTEMISIA is related to have loved her husband Mausolus beyond all the stories of amorous affection, nay beyond the limits of human

* This story of Artemisia is sufficiently familiar, and is to be found in a variety of places. The monument itself is described particularly by Pliny, Book xxxvi. chap. 5. See also the tract of Philo Byzantius, published at Rome by Leo Allatius, where every particular of this Mausolus is collected. Consult also Bayle, article Artemisia. The lines of Propertius on the vanity of the proudest monuments of art, are elegant and apposite—

Nam neque pyramidum sumptus ad sidera ducti,
Nec Jovis Elei cœlum imitata domus,
Nec mausolei dives fortuna sepulchri
Mortis ab extrema conditione vacant.

Nor can I forbear to add the following from Beattie's Minstrel :—

Let vanity adorn the marble tomb
With trophies, rhymes, and scutcheons of renown,
In the deep dungeon of some Gothic dome,
Where night and desolation ever frown,
Mine be the breezy hill that skirts the down,
Where a green grassy turf is all I crave,

With

man attachment. Mausolus, according to Cicero, was king of Caria, or, as some Greek historians relate, he was the governor of a Grecian province, whom the Greeks call a satrap. When this Mausolus died, and was entombed with a magnificent funeral, amidst the tears and lamentations of his wife, Artemisia, inflamed with grief and regret for the loss of her husband, had his bones and ashes mixed with spices, and beaten to powder, she then infused them into water, and drank them off; and is said to have exhibited many other proofs of her violent love. She erected likewise, at a vast expence of labour, for the sake of preserving the memory of her husband, that very celebrated monument, which has been thought worthy to be admitted among the seven wonders of the world. When Artemisia consecrated this monument to the manes of her husband, she instituted likewise a literary contest in his honour, and appointed pecuniary rewards, and most munificent presents of other things. To the celebration of these praises, men are said to have come, of illustrious talents, and distinguished oratory, Theo-

With here and there a violet besrown,
Fast by a brook, or fountain's murmuring wave,
And many an evening sun shine sweetly on my grave.

The appellation of Mausoleum has, as Bayle observes, been given ever since to all magnificent structures of this kind.

pompus², Theodectes³ of Naucratis. There are also who have related, that Isocrates himself contended with them. But Theopompus was pronounced the victor in that contest. He was the pupil of Isocrates. The tragedy of Theodectes, which is entitled Mausolus, is now extant; in which, according to the examples cited by Higinus, Theodectes pleases more than in his prose works.

² *Theopompus.*]—He lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and was eminent as an historian. He is mentioned by many writers with respect.

³ *Theodectes.*]—A difficulty here occurs of no great importance, but which has much perplexed and divided the commentators. The doubt is, whether a third eminent person is not to be added as a competitor at these games, and named Naucrites. The reader will adopt or reject my interpretation, as he thinks proper.

It may not be improper to add, as a conclusion to this chapter, that a story is told in Boccace, of a husband who obliged his wife to eat the heart of her gallant, whom he had put to death. The lady, when she was acquainted with what she had done, exclaimed, that it should not be said she ever took any food after so noble a repast; she then threw herself out of a high window, and was dashed to pieces. The husband relented, and buried the bodies of the lovers in the same grave.

C H A P. XIX.

That a crime is not done away or lessened by the defence which some offenders set up, namely a similarity of crimes in others; and a passage upon that subject from an oration of Demosthenes.

THE philosopher Taurus reproved a certain young man with severe and vehement censure, because he had quitted his attendance upon

* Obvious as the folly must be of justifying our own indiscretions from the contagion and frequency of example, it is but too true, that the custom is, and perhaps always will be, prevalent in every age and country. The reproof, however of Taurus in this chapter may fairly be disputed as to its wisdom and its justice. The study of rhetoric and eloquence, as pursued in his time, appeared to have regard only to the external accomplishments and fleeting reputation of the individual. The study of philosophy, imperfect as it was, comprehended somewhat better, and by inculcating the necessity of at least some system of morals, necessarily had an influence on the good and happiness of society. Yet what Mr. Cowper observes on this subject, after all that can be favourably urged concerning it, is as just as it is forcible:

—Their answ'res vague
And all at random, fabulous and dark,
Left them as dark themselves. Their rules of life,
Defective and unsanction'd, prov'd too weak
To bind the roving appetite, and lead
Blind nature to a God not yet reveal'd.

the rhetoricians and the school of eloquence, for the study of philosophy, which he said was a transgression disingenuous and disgraceful. The young man did not attempt to deny the fact, but defended himself, by alledging that it was frequently done, and deprecated the baseness of the fault, by the citation of examples, and the excuse of custom. But Taurus, still more irritated by this kind of defence, “ Foolish and contemptible man !” says he, “ if the authority and laws of philosophy do not withdraw you from the effect of bad examples, yet does not that sentence of Demosthenes occur to you ? which, as it is put together in a polished and elegant arrangement of words, might be more easily impressed upon your memory, as a sort of rhetorical tale : If I do not forget, what indeed I read in earlier youth—these are the words of Demosthenes, addressed to one who (like yourself) endeavoured to blot out and excuse his own crime by the crimes of others. —Do not² say that this is often done, but that it ought

² *Do not, &c.*]—These words occur at the beginning of the oration against Androción. This is one of the most vigorous and animated of all the orations of Demosthenes, and this passage in particular is highly extolled by Quintilian : “ *Optimum autem videtur enthymematis genus, cum proposito dissimili vel contrario ratio subjungitur, quale est Demosthenis, &c.* ” That it may be more intelligible to the reader, he should be informed, that Androción had, in the assembly of the people at Athens, proposed a decree, which was in opposition to many established customs, and obnoxious to certain

ought to be done ; for if any thing be done contrary to the laws, and you follow the example, is it right that you should escape the punishment of the law ? on the contrary, you ought to be more severely punished ; for, if any one of them had suffered punishment, you would not have proposed these things ; so if you are now punished, no one in future will propose them." Thus did Taurus, by every mode of persuasion and advice, incline his followers to the habits of good and virtuous morals.

tain existing laws. But on being accused, he alledged, in his vindication, that he had the sanction of example for what he had done.

Neither is it unworthy of remark, that Demosthenes made this, and the celebrated oration against Timocrates, when he was no more than twenty-seven years old ; and that Cicero made his oration in behalf of P. Quintius at twenty-six, and that for Sex. Roscius at twenty-seven,

C H A P. XX.

*The meaning of the words rogatio, lex, plebiscitum, privilegium; and wherein these words differ.*³

I HEAR enquiry made as to the meaning of the words *lex*, *plebiscitum*, *rogatio*, and *privilegium*. Atteius Capito, a man particularly skilled

in

³ The terms *lex* and *plebiscitum*, which occur in this chapter, are so perspicuously explained by Bever, in his History of the Legal Polity of the Roman State, that I cannot fulfil my duty to the reader more effectually than by transcribing the passage.

When the Roman state increased in numbers and territory, fresh matters arose, which required new laws; all which are reducible to the following species:

“ Such as were passed at the instance of a senatorial magistrate, by the whole of the aggregate body of the people, senators and Patricians, as well as Plebeians, in whom alone the majesty of the state resided—a law thus enacted was called “ *Lex*” in its strict and proper sense.

“ The second species of occasional written law was called “ *plebiscitum*,” which was enacted by the Plebeian body alone, at the “ *rogation*” of one of their own magistrates. The *Plebiscita* were originally made in the “ *comitia tributa*,” at the instance of the tribunes, and were partial laws, binding the Plebeians only.”

Thus far Bever. As to the term *privilegium*, it in a manner explains itself: *privilegia* are private laws. Anciently it was used in a bad sense, for a private law passed to punish

in the knowledge of public and private rights, has thus defined the word *lex*: “ *Lex* (law)” says he, “ is the general decree of the people, or the commons, upon a question proposed by the magistrate.” If this definition be just, neither the issue of the debate upon the command given to Cnæus Pompey, upon the return of Marcus Cicero, the murder of Clodius, nor any decrees of the like nature, can be called laws; for they are not general decrees, formed on account of the citizens as a body, but applied to particular individuals; wherefore they ought rather to be called *privileges*. For the ancients called those *privata* which we call *singula*; which word Lucilius² has used in his first book of Satires,—

Abdomina Thynni

Advenientibus *privata* dabo cephaeaque a carne.

But Capito, in the same definition, separates (*plebem*) the commonalty, from the people (*a populo*); for in the term *people*, every part of the city, and all its ranks, are included. But that is called *plebs* (the commons), in which the Patrician citizens are not included. The *plebiscitum*, therefore, is, according to Capito, that law, which the commonalty, not the people, admits. But the head,

an individual, without the form of trial. Afterwards *privilegia* were understood to be decrees of the emperors to punish or reward particular individuals, but they were not to be considered as precedents.

² *Lucilius.*]—So also has Horace. *Prives mutantur in annos.*

and origin, and as it were fountain, of the whole circumstance and law, is in the *rogatio*, whether the appeal is to the people, or the commonalty, a law for individuals, or a law universally binding. For all the other words are understood and contained in the very fundamental principle and meaning of the *rogatio*. For unless an appeal be made to the people or the commons, no decree of the people or commons can be passed. But notwithstanding this, in old records we find no great distinction made between these words; for they have given the term *leges* both to the *plebiscita* and the *privilegia*, and have called them all by the perplexed and undistinguishing title of *rogationes*. Sallust too, who is particularly observant of propriety in the use of words, has yielded to custom, and called the *privilegium* which was passed upon the return of Cnæus Pompey, a law (*lex*). His words are in his second history: “ For Caius Herennius, tribune of the people, opposed the law which Sylla the consul wished to pass for his return.”

C H A P. XXI.

The reason why Marcus Cicero scrupulously avoided the use of the words novissimus and novissimè.

IT is clear that Marcus Cicero was unwilling to use many words which are now in frequent circulation, because he did not approve of them; as for instance *novissimus* and *novissimè*. For while Marcus Cato, and Sallust, and others of the same age, generally used the word, and many men of learning introduced it in their works, yet he seems to have abstained from it, as if not properly a Latin word. Wherefore also L. *Ælius Stilo*¹, the most

¹ *L. Ælius Stilo.*—The commentators are much at variance about this personage, some calling him *Ælius Gallus*, some reading *Lilius Stilo*, &c. There seems little reason to doubt but the person here meant is the *Ælius Stilo* mentioned so honourably by Cicero in his Brutus, where he is called *eruditissimus et Græcis literis et Latinis*; and it is avowed that Varro was most materially indebted to him.

With respect to the word *novissimus*, Gellius has in this chapter been guilty of an unaccountable mistake, for Cicero has not only once but several times introduced the word *novissimus* in his works. See his oration for Roscius: “ *Itaque per brevi tempore qui ne in novissimis quidem erat histriónibus, ad primos pervenit comœdos.*”

See also in the tract *De Oratore*, “ *Nec in hác modo re quæ ad vulgi sensum spectent et ad aurium voluptatem quæ duo sunt ad judicandum novissima.*”

most learned man of those days, avoided the use of that word, as new and illegitimate. What M. Varro thought of the expression is evident from his sixth book upon the Latin tongue, addressed to Cicero ; what was anciently *extremum* began to be commonly called *novissimum*. But as Ælius Gallus, so certain old men in my memory, avoided this as too new a word. With respect to its origin, as *vetustius* and *veterimum* are derived from *vetus*, so *novius* and *novissimum* come from *novus*.

The expression may also be found in Pliny, Tacitus, Seneca, Quintilian, and all the writers of best authority ; but it is a little remarkable, that it does not appear in any index to Cicero which I have seen, not even in Ernestus.

C H A P. XXII.

*A passage cited from the book of Plato called Gorgias, on the abuses of false philosophy; in which he lashes rashly those philosophers who are ignorant of the benefits of true philosophy.*¹

PLATO, a man most studious of truth, and prompt to enforce it upon all occasions, has spoken justly and openly (though from the mouth of no very grave or decorous character) all those censures which may deservedly be cast upon such sluggish and idle people, as, sheltered under the name of philosophy, devote themselves to unprofitable ease, and follow useless studies and a mean course of life. For although Callicles, whom he makes his speaker, is ignorant of true philosophy, and heaps dishonourable and degrading reproofs upon its professors, yet what he says is to be received as a caution, that we may not in our own persons deserve such reproofs, nor by

¹ I think, with H. Stevens, that the title of this chapter involves no little perplexity. Where is the temerity of pointing out to censure the impudent or idle pretenders to philosophy? Or, as Stevens observes, "If it be an act of temerity, why is the passage here inserted with so many and such high encomiums?"

idle and foolish inactivity disgrace the cultivation and pursuit of philosophy. I have written down Plato's own words in his Gorgias, as I did not attempt to translate them, because no Latinity, much less any that I could supply², can emulate their force:

“ Philosophy, O Socrates, is indeed becoming, if a man in his youth pursues it with moderation; but if he wastes his time too long upon it, it is a corruptor of men; for if he be naturally good, and follows philosophy when past his youth, he is of course ignorant of those things in which every one should be versed who aims to be a good and accomplished character. Such are ignorant of political science, and of the language which is essential in society, both in public and private concerns; neither is he acquainted with the pleasures and desires incident to men; nor, to say the whole at once, with manners. When, therefore, they are involved in any public or private business, they appear ridiculous. Just, indeed, as men engaged in civil life, if they should

² *I could supply*]—Many will perhaps be of opinion that this excuse would have come with much more propriety from myself. For if Gellius, a scholar and critic from profession, despaired of doing justice to the Greek, with which he must have been, from study and long residence in the country, so familiarly acquainted, it argues no small presumption in me to undertake what he thus evaded. I have examined the original as carefully as I could, and done my part as well as I was able.

enter into your schools and disputations.” What Euripides³ says is pertinent:—

“ That in which he is inferior, he avoids and dislikes; the opposite to this he praises, thinking this a proof of his complacency.” I think it best to excel in both. The pursuit of philosophy, as an accomplishment of youth, is becoming, nor is such a study by any means dishonourable for a young man. But when an older person persists in such a pursuit, it is indeed, Socrates, a ridiculous thing. I feel the same towards them who philosophize as towards them who trifle and play; and when I see a young man in whom it is yet becoming, so trifling and playing, I am pleased; it seems to me graceful and liberal, and suitable to youthful age. If I hear a youth speaking too readily, it is disagreeable to me, and wounds my ears, and it seems to me as more proper for a slave. But if any one hears a man trifling, or sees him playing, it seems ridiculous, unmanly, and worthy of stripes. Just so do I feel about those who philosophize. When I see philosophy in a young man, I am pleased, it seems proper, and I think it the mark of ingenuousness. He who does not study philosophy, cannot be inge-

³ *Euripides.*]—These lines are among the fragments of the Antiope, and I have used the version of Mr. Wodhull. Every thing relating to these fragments is so amply discussed by Valcnaer, in his *Diatribe in Euripidis perditorum dramatum reliquias*, that it would be impertinent in me to do more than refer the reader to that learned and ingenious dissertation.

nuous, nor will he ever do any amiable or generous action. But when I see an older person so employed, and not about to desist, such a man, O Socrates! seems to me worthy of stripes: for as I now said, it happens to such a one, though naturally good, that he becomes unmanly, avoiding the business of the city and forum, in which the poet says men become most eminent. If he hide himself during life, whispering in a corner with three or four young men, he will never accomplish any thing liberal, great, or becoming. But for you, O Socrates! I have friendship and respect; I risk therefore that to happen to me with respect to you, which happened to Zetho with respect to Amphion, in the lines from Euripides just quoted; for I have been induced to say to you precisely what he said to his brother—that you neglect, Socrates, what most deserves your care, and that you injure your excellent talents by attention to childish things; nor can you introduce any thing pertinent in the public courts, nor do you select what is meritorious and becoming, nor can you give judicious counsel to others. Be not, my dear Socrates, offended with me, I will address you with all mildness; does it not seem to be disgraceful to you to be esteemed, as I esteem you and all others whom philosophy allures? Now if any one should seize you, or one like you, and throw you into prison, saying you had committed a crime, although you really had not, you could not vindicate yourself, but

would hesitate and be perplexed, not knowing what to say: and being brought to trial, having a vile and profligate accuser, you would suffer even death, if he should so think proper. And is this wisdom, O Socrates! if any pursuit, occupying a man naturally ingenuous, makes him worse, so that he can neither help himself nor save himself, nor any one else, from the greatest dangers, but must suffer every extremity from his enemies? He must live unhonoured by his citizens. Such a man, I almost blush to use the expression, we may with impunity smite upon the cheek. Therefore, my friend, be persuaded, and leave off these trifles. Pursue things more honourable, and from which you may appear to be really wise. Leave to others these empty things, or, as you may perhaps call them, insanities, 'which make your houses empty.' Imitate not them who follow these puerilities, but those who really know how to live, who have glory and other good things.

Plato⁴ has spoken these sentiments from the mouth of one, as I said before, of no great estimation,

* *Plato.*]—The following fragment of Epicrates, as preserved in Athenæus, is a pertinent illustration of this passage. I copy the translation from Mr. Cumberland's *Observer*:

A. I pray you, Sir,
What are your wise philosophers engag'd in,
Your Plato, Menedemus, and Speusippus?

What

mation, yet with the repute of common sense and common understanding, and with an inclination to speak the plain truth. For he does not descant upon that species of philosophy, which is the teacher of all virtues ; which stands foremost in the discharge of all public and private duties ; which, if not prevented, regulates with firmness, fortitude, and wisdom, the government of the state. But he speaks of that futile and childish attention to trifles, which conduces nothing to the guidance and regulation of life ; in which people of that description (whom the vulgar consider as philosophers, and whom he considered as such who delivered these censures) grow old in idleness.

What mighty mysteries have they in projection ?
 What new discoveries may the world expect
 From their profound researches ?

B. Sir, you shall know—at our great festival
 I was myself their hearer—I must speak
 Of things perchance surpassing your belief,
 For ten most sage academicians sat
 In solemn consultation on a cabbage.

A. A cabbage ! what did they discover there ?
B. Oh Sir, your cabbage has its sex and gender,
 Its provinces, prerogatives, and ranks,
 And, nicely handled, breeds as many questions
 As it does maggots.

See also the Nubes of Aristophanes.

CHAP. XXIII.

A passage from an oration of Marcus Cato, on the ancient mode of life, and manners of women. That the husband had power to put his wife to death, if taken in adultery.

THE writers on the food and dress of the Romans, inform us, that the women of Rome and Latium lived abstemiously; that is, they abstained from wine¹, which in the old language was called *temetum*. It was appointed by law, that they should kiss their relations, that it might be discovered by their breath whether

¹ *From wine.*—The Greeks, though they did not positively forbid their women the use of wine, punished any excess of this kind with extreme severity. The testimonies of the fact here mentioned occur perpetually in the old Roman writers. Their idea was, that the use of wine excited amorous propensities. Pliny says, “ Non licebat vinum foeminas Romanis bibere, invenimus inter exempla Egnatii Mezzennii uxorem, quod vinum bibisset a dolio imperfectam furte a marito, eumque cædis a Romulo absolutum.” Many similar passages might be easily collected.

Plato, in his Republic, forbids young men to drink wine till they are eighteen years old: they were not to get drunk till they were forty; after that period, they were to do as they pleased.

they had been drinking. But they relate that the women were accustomed to drink the second brewing, raisin wine², sweet myrrhine, and other palatable liquors of that sort. And these things are published in the books I mentioned. But Marcus Cato says, that women were not only censured, but fined, if they had been drinking wine, with as much severity as if they had committed adultery. I have put down the words

• *Raisin wine.*]—*Passus* in the original. Columella has particularly described the making of this in his 12th book, chap. 39.—See Virg. *Georg.* ii. 53.

Et passo Psythia utilior.

Arnobius, in his tract *adversus Gentes*, reproaching the Romans for changing their manner of life, says,

“ *Matres familias vestræ in atriis operantur domorum industrias testificantes suas? potionibus abstinent vini?* ”

Bayle, at the article *Lycurgus*, tells us, that though there was no law in France to prohibit women the use of wine, in earlier times they were seldom known to drink any thing but water. A physician of Paris, who published a book in 1696, says, “ Who would have thought that women would have added tobacco and brandy to so many other vices they have gloried in for above thirty years past? They carry, as yet, but runlets of brandy at their side: who knows but in time they will carry barrels ? ” Ovid recommends a cheerful glass to the ladies :

Aptius est deceatque magis potare puellas
Cum Venetis puero non male Bacche facis.

It is certain however, that the Roman wives were not allowed to keep the key of the wine-cellars.—See Casaubon *ad Athenæum*, 725.

from Marcus Cato's oration (*de Dote*) in which it is also said, that husbands had a right to kill their wives when taken in adultery³. "A husband (says he) when he puts away his wife, judges his own cause as a censor; and has, it seems, entire controul in the matter. If she has committed any perverse or disgraceful act, she is fined: if she has drank wine; or contaminated herself by intercourse with another man, she is condemned: but upon the right of putting her to death, it is thus expressed: If you shall have caught your wife in adultery, you may kill her without any legal process; but she (should you be guilty of the crime) must not presume to touch you with her finger; the law does not permit it."

* *In adultery.*]—The punishment of adultery has been different in various times and nations; but, as a people have become more luxurious and corrupt, this punishment has become progressively less severe, till it has not only passed without public censure, but appeared with unabashed effrontery in all ranks of society.

Bayle, on the authority of Socrates Scholastius, mentions a punishment of adultery, so extremely preposterous, as to be reconciled to no principle of decency or common sense.

CHAP. XXIV.

They who spoke with elegance, used the words, die pristini, die crafstini, die quarti, die quinti, not as they speak them now¹.

DIE *quarto* and *die quinto* (on the fourth and fifth day) which the Greeks express by *εἰς τεταρτην καὶ εἰς πεμπτην*, are words now in use among the learned, and he who speaks otherwise, is despised as unpolished and illiterate. But in Tully's time, and before that period, they did not, I think, use that phrase. They said *die quintè*, and *die quinti*, using it as a copulative adverb, the second syllable being made short. Augustus, who was well versed in Latin, and an imitator of his father's elegance in conversation, has in that manner frequently distinguished

¹ The substance of this chapter is to be found in the Saturnalia of Macrobius, l. i. The style of Augustus is spoken of by Suetonius in terms of great respect.

“ *Genus eloquendi secutus est elegans et temperatum: vitatis sententiarum ineptiis, atque incorcinnitate et reconditorum verborum, ut ipse loquebatur fanticibus. Pracipuamque curam duxit sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere.*” Gellius in another place praises the pure and simple style of Augustus; and so also do Tacitus and Quintilian.

in his Epistles, the days he meant to point out. But it will be the means of shewing the usual custom of the ancients, if we put down the formal words of the prætor, in which, according to established custom, he proclaims the celebration of the festival called the Compitalia². The words are these: “ *Die noni* (nine days hence) the Compitalia will be holden in the assembly of the Roman people: when they shall have been begun, law business ceases.” Here the prætor says, *die noni*, not *die nono*; and not only the prætor, but almost all antiquity spoke in the same manner. For I remember in Pomponianus, a verse from the farce³ which is called *Mævia*.

Dies hic sextus, cum nihil egi, die
Quarte moriar fame.

* *Compitalia*.]—These festivals were celebrated on the second of May, to the Lares, in the public ways, at which time anciently boys were said to have been sacrificed.—See a long account of this festival in Macrobius, l. i. Sat. vi. 16.

See also Ovid. Fasti. l. v.

Servat uterque domum domino quoque fidus uterque
Compita grata deo, compita grata cani,
Exagitant et Lar et turba Diania fures
Pervigilantque Lares, pervigilantque canes.

* *Farce*.]—Atellana. Atellanus or Attellanus, was an epithet applied to a kind of farce which had its origin at Attellanæ, a place in Campania.—See Juvenal, Sat. vi. 71.

Urbicus exodio risum movet Attellanæ
Gestibus Autonoës.

Six days without a jot of work I've past,
Four more—and hungry I must breathe my
last.

That passage in Cœlius likewise furnishes an instance of it; in the second book of his history—“ If you chuse to give me the cavalry, and follow me yourself with the army, I will take care that supper shall be prepared for you (*die quinti*) five days hence, in the capitol at Rome.” But the story itself, and the words of it, Cœlius has taken from Marcus Cato, where it is thus related: “ Therefore the master of the horse thus advised the dictator of the Carthaginians, Send the cavalry with me to Rome, and five days hence your supper shall be dressed in the capitol.” But the last syllable of that compound, I find, terminated either by the letter *e* or *i*, which custom of using them indifferently was frequent among the ancients, as in the words *præfescine* and *præfescini*, *protlivi* (downwards) and *proclivè*; and many others of the same nature, they used with various terminations. *Die pristini* (the day before) was also applied, which signified *die pristino*, or *die priore*, which we commonly express by *pridie*, changing the order of the compound, and deriving it as it were from *pristino die*. By a similar process, *die crastini* (to-morrow) was used from *die crastino*. So the priests of the Roman people, when they say, *in diem tertium* (for three days) express themselves by
die

die perendini; but as many people say, *die pristini*, so Marcus Cato in his speech against Furius, has said, *die proximi* (next day). And Cnæus Matius, a very learned man, in his *Mimiambi*, has used *die quarto*, instead of what we call *nudius-quartus* (four days ago) in the following lines.

Nuper *die quarto* ut recordor, et certè
Aquarium urceum unicum domi fregit.

Four days ago—I have it in my book,
The only pitcher in my house he broke.

There only will remain this distinction, that we say *die quarto*, speaking of time past; *die quarti*, or *die quarté*, of the future.

C H A P. XXV.

The names of certain weapons, darts, and swords ; and the different sorts of ships mentioned in the old books¹.

WHILE we are sitting at ease in the carriage, in order to prevent one's mind from being possessed by other trifling matters, we may as well make some enquiry into the names of the weapons, darts, and swords, which are mentioned in the ancient books ; as also into the different kinds and appellations of the ships. Those which occur are as follows : the spear, the javelin, pikes, half-pikes, iron-crows, Gallic darts, the lance, spears, rumigestri, torches, barbed javelins, staves, missile spears, slings, Thracian swords, the engine for flinging darts, scibones, broad-headed javelins, short-swords, rapiers, daggers, hangers, spades, wedges, ponyards, small ladders. Of the wedge (lingula) since the use of it is not very common, it is necessary to

¹ A long dissertation, or indeed a book, might be written on the subject of this chapter. It will be sufficient, perhaps, to refer the reader at once to Vegetius, and the other old military writers. The vessels mentioned at the conclusion are all enumerated and explained in Potter's Grecian Antiquities.

observe, that the ancients so called an oblong small sword, made in the form of a tongue, of which Nævius makes mention in his Tragedy of Hesion. These are his words;

“ Sine mihi gerere morem videar, linguâ verum lingulâ.”

And the long sword (*rhomphæa*)² is a species of weapon belonging to the Thracian nation, and its name occurs in the twenty-fourth of the Annals of Ennius. All the names of ships we could call to mind are these; the gallies, merchantmen, store-ships, long-vessels, transports, long-prows, pinnaces, or as the Greeks call them, *κελῆτες*, barques, frigates, rowing-vessels, light barges, which the Greeks call *ιστυοποιοι*, or *επανίρριδες*, ketches or spy-boats, or fishing smacks, cattæ, skiffs, ferry-boats, nuctuciæ, mediae, yachts, galliots, long-galliots, scullers, capulices, fair-wea-ther ships, the cedarum, lighters, cruizers.

² *Rhomphæa.*]—Many of these words are written differently in different editions of Gellius, as *rumpia* for *rhumphæa*, *fibones* for *scibones*, &c.

C H A P. XXVI.

*Sallust was unwisely censured by Asinius Pollio, for saying transgressum for transfretationem, &c.*¹

SALLUST has unjustly incurred the censure of Asinius Pollio, in one of his letters addressed to Plancus, and indeed of others, because in the first book of his history he has called the act of transporting, and carrying over the sea, *transgressum*, and the persons carried over, which in our usual phrase is *transfretasse*, he has called *transgressos*. These are Sallust's words: “Sertorius having left a small guard in Mauritania, and taking the advantage of a dark night, was compelled, with a prosperous wind and great speed, to avoid an engagement, by carrying his troops over the sea.” He afterwards

¹ The beginning of this chapter is different in different editions. H. Stephens has taken some pains to prove that it should be read thus:—“Asinio Pollionis in quadam epistola quam ad Plancum scripsit, et quibusdam aliis C. Sallustius iniquis dignum nota visum est quod, &c.”

As to the matter of the chapter itself, the reader has probably by this time discovered, that however agreeable the work of Gellius may be as a book of miscellaneous entertainment, he certainly was himself no very acute critic. What he alledges here is reasonable enough.

says,

says, “*Transgressos omnis recipit mons receptus a Lusitanis.*” This (say they) is spoken improperly, and with the authority of no good author. For *transgressus* and *ingressus* are derived from *transgrediendo*, and that from *pedum gradu* (the stepping of the feet). Pollio therefore thought that *transgressus* was ill applied to those who fly, or creep, or fail, and that it suited only those who walk, and measure the ground with their footsteps. Therefore they deny, that in any good author *transgressum* can be found, applied to ships, or used to signify the transporting of troops. But I ask, why, as they properly say *cursus*² (the course) of a ship, they may not likewise say *transgressus*, more especially when the narrowness of that arm of the sea which flows between Spain and Africa is described by a word³ most elegantly expressive, of passing over as it were the space of a few steps. But let those who want an authority for it, and affirm, that *ingredi* and *transgredi* are not applied to sailing, tell wherein the word *ingredi* differs from *ambulare*, (to walk). But Marcus Cato, in his book upon

² *Cursus.*]—Both the Greek and Latin writers of the best authority used *currus* for a ship. See Catullus:

Volitantem per mare *currum*.

See also the expression in Virgil, of ædificant naves. In English also, we use the seemingly inaccurate expression, “I am shipwrecked in my fortune, for I am in misfortune.”

³ *Word.*]—Fretum, now called the Straights, or the Straights of Gibraltar.

Agriculture, says, “ That a farm is to be chosen in such a situation, as to have a large town near it, and the sea, or at least a river where ships (*ambulant*) walk.” Moreover, Lucretius bears testimony, that words taken from their literal sense are sometimes ornaments of speech. For in his fourth book, he speaks of the voice (*gradientem*) travelling through the arteries and the jaws. Which is somewhat more strong than what Sallust says of ships. Lucretius’s⁴ verses are these :

All sound is body, for with painful force
 It moves the sense, when with an eager course
 It scrapes the jaws, and makes the speaker
 hoarse.

Besides, Sallust in the same book not only calls those who went in ships *progressus*, but also sailing skiffs. His words, as applied to the skiffs, I have subjoined : “ Some of them making but little way, from being overweighted and unequally loaded, while fear agitated the persons in them, were funk.”

⁴ *Lucretius.*]—The reference in Gronovius is wrong. The passage is in book iv. l. 532. We have an expression in English of a similar kind—“ The noise grates my ears.”

C H A P. XXVII.

*Account of the Roman and Carthaginian people.—
They were rivals of nearly equal strength¹.*

IT is recorded in books of antiquity, that the strength, the spirit, and the numbers of the Romans and Carthaginians were equal. Nor was this opinion without foundation. For with other nations the subject of dispute was a single state; but, with the Carthaginians, it was for the empire of the world. A proof of this is exhibited in the speech of each people, when Quintus Fabius, the Roman general, delivered a letter to the Carthaginians, in which it was declared, that the Roman people had sent them a spear and a herald's staff—two tokens, the one of war, the other of peace—that they might choose whichever they pleased, and understand that as particularly sent them, which they might think proper to accept. The Carthaginians answered, that they would choose neither; that they who brought

¹ This subject is familiar to every school-boy, and requires no elaborate discussion. The anecdote told in this chapter, is a memorable instance of national spirit, and is recorded by Livy, book xxviii. c. 8. and by Florus, book ii. c. 6, 7.

them

them might leave which they pleased, and they would consider what the Romans left, as chosen by themselves. Marcus Varro, however, says, not that a spear itself, or the staff itself, were sent, but two dice², upon one of which was engraven a staff, on the other a spear.

² *Dice.*]—The tessera was a small tablet of wood, and used among the Romans for various purposes. It was the soldier's watch-signal; there was also (which seems here to be what is understood) the tessera of hospitality: this was a tally cut in two, whereof each party kept one. See a curious tract de Tesserae Hospitalitatis, by Thomasinus. In the Medea of Euripides, Jason, when about to send Medea away, tells her he will give her a symbol or tessera of recommendation to his friends.

Ως επομένος αφθοίω δύναται χέρι
Ξενοῖς τι πεμπεῖν συμβολ' οι δραστεσσι σ' εν.

Mr. Wodhull has not sufficiently marked the force of this in his translation.

For with a liberal hand am I inclin'd
My bounties to confer, and hence dispatch
Such tokenes as to hospitable kindness
Will recommend you.

To which Medea answers:

Οὐτ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς σοιο χρησταμέθε αν.

I will not use those with whom you are connected by the ties of hospitality: that is, literally, Jason says, I will give you tesserae hospitalitatis to my friends: No, says Medea; I will not take them, nor be indebted to your friends.

C H A P. XXVIII.

On the distinctions of age—childhood, youth, and old age—taken from Tubero's history.

TUBERO, in his first book of history, has written, that Servius Tullius, king of Rome, when he divided the people into five classes¹, in order to number the young men, called those who were under seventeen years of age boys; from their seventeenth year, when they were deemed proper for service, he enrolled them soldiers; till forty-six, young men²; and be-

* *Five classes.*]—On this subject, of the classes into which the Roman people were divided, see Gellius again, l. vii. 13. The Romans were sometimes said to be divided into six classes; but the sixth class was called *capiti censi*, that is, reckoned only by their numbers, and considered as having no property; so that the general estimation reckoned five classes only. See Arnobius, p. 91.

“ *Numquid enim quinque in classes habetis populum distributum, vestri olim ut habuere majores.*

* *Young men.*]—The expression of *juvenis* or *junior*, among the Romans, was certainly indefinable, and meant no more than those who were able to undergo a certain degree of labour or fatigue. Thus in our own language, it is certain, that in its primitive meaning *yeoman* signified a young man; and we know in how lax a sense it is now understood.

yond that time elders. I have noted this, that the distinctions which our forefathers observed, might be known, between childhood, youth, and old age, according to the estimate of that sagacious king, Servius Tullius.

C H A P. XXIX.

That the particle atque is not only conjunctive, but has likewise a diversity of significations.

THE particle *atque* is called by the grammarians a copulative conjunction; and often indeed it unites and connects words. But sometimes it has other powers, not sufficiently observed, except by persons engaged in the diligent and attentive examination of ancient learning. For it has the power of an adverb, when we say, "I acted otherwise (*atque*) than you." If it be repeated, it strengthens and increases the signification; as we find in the Annals of Quintus Ennius, unless my memory fails in the citation of the verse :

Atque atque accedit muros Romana juventus.

It was likewise used by the ancients for the word *deque*, which has an opposite signification, and moreover,

moreover for *statim*, another adverb. As in these verses of Virgil, where that particle is thought obscure, and not properly introduced.

—Sic omnia fatis *

In pejus ruere ac retro sublapsa referri

Non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine
lembum

Remigiis subigit, si brachia forte remisit.

Atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus
amni.

* *Sic omnia fatis.*]—These lines occur Georg. i. l. 199.
Thus translated by Dryden:

Thus all below, whether by nature's curse
Or fate's decree, degenerate still to worse ;
So the boat's brawny crew the current stem,
And slow advancing struggle with the stream ;
But if they slack their hands, or cease to strive,
Then down the flood with headlong haste they drive.

Dryden here has overlooked the force of *atque*, which Martyn has not: he translates the last line, “ Immediately the tide drives him headlong down the river.”

The expression of “ retro sublapsa referri” is found also in the second *Æneid*.

Ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri
Spes Danaum.

BOOK XI.

C H A P. I.

*On the origin of the word Italy. Of that fine which is called *suprema*; its meaning—the Aterian law—and in what terms the smallest fine used to be imposed.*

TIMÆUS, in the Roman History which he composed in Greek, and Varro in his Antiquities, agree in deriving Italy¹ from a Greek word, because in the old Greek language oxen were called *Ιταλοι*, of which there were great numbers in Italy; and horned cattle in vast abundance were bred and pastured in that country. Thence we may conjecture, that as Italy was so abundant in cattle², therefore the fine

¹ *Italy.*]—It is certain that Hesychius has *Ιταλος* in the sense of an ox; yet Heyne agrees rather with those who derive the name of the country from Italus, one of its kings, according to Isidorus. Bochart's derivation of it from a Phœnician word signifying pitch, has not obtained much currency, nor does it seem to deserve it.

² *Abundant in cattle.*]—Armentosissima. The indefatigable

fine was imposed which is called *suprema*, of producing on particular days³ two sheep and thirty oxen; which was levied in that proportion from the plentiful breed of oxen, and the scarcity of sheep. But when that sort of fine which consisted of sheep and oxen was imposed by the magistrates, some of small and some of greater values were produced, which made the payment of the penalty unequal. Wherefore, by the Aetrian law, the value of the sheep was fixed at ten pieces of brass, that of the oxen at an hundred: but the smallest fine imposed, is that of one sheep; the greatest, that of which we have spoken. Beyond which, it was not lawful to fix any fine to be paid for one offence; and therefore it is called (*Suprema*) the last, that is, the chief and greatest. When therefore this last fine is now imposed, according to the manner of our ancestors, by the Roman magistrates, it is usually observed, that the word *ovis*, sheep, is

ble Barthius speaks highly of the advantage of making a glossary of words used by each particular writer of any distinction. He himself, with respect to Gellius, has completed a glossary of peculiar words beginning with *a*: Armentofissima is among these; and the reader will find them all in his *Adversaria*, p. 397.

³ *Particular days.*]—In *singulos*: it is sometimes read ‘in *singulos dies*,’ but I am inclined to think both readings wrong, and wish to adopt what is proposed by Hotomanus, in his useful tract *de Re Nummariâ*. He thinks it should be read ‘in *res singulas*,’ which was a legal term for each offence.

used in the masculine gender. So Marcus Varro has mentioned the legal terms by which the smallest fine was imposed. “ Since, though called upon by Marcus Terentius, he has neither answered, nor excused himself, I sentence him to pay a fine of one sheep.” Unless this form was observed, the fine was not deemed legal. This word *multa*, Marcus Varro, in his 19th book of Antiquities, says is not a Latin but a Sabine word; and that in his memory, it was in use in the language of the Samnites, who came from the Sabines⁴. But the upstart tribe of grammarians have affirmed, that this word, like many others, is spoken (*χατ' αντιφραστιν*) by opposition.

But as our manner of speaking, and that which many of the ancients made use of, is *multam dixit*, and *multa dicta est*, I have thought it not amiss to take notice that Marcus Cato has spoken otherwise; for in his fourth book *de Originibus*, are these words: “ Our general, if any one engages in battle, out of his rank, (*ei multam facit*) imposes a fine upon him. But he may appear, for the sake of elegance, to have avoided the word (*dicit*) since the fine was levied in the

⁴ From the Sabines.]—See Strabo, book v. “ The Sabines are the most ancient nation, and from these the Samnites derive their origin. The Samnites were by the Greeks called *Zavntai*.” See Eustathius ad Dionysium, and Pliny.

camp and the army, not proclaimed (*diceretur*) in the assembly, nor presence of the people.

C H A P. II.

That the word elegance, among the ancients, was not applied to those distinguished by their understanding, but to those who were attentive to dress and luxury, and was considered as disgraceful.

A MAN formerly was not called elegant, as a term of commendation; but till the time of Marcus Cato, that word was a reproach, and not a compliment. This we may observe in other writers, as well as in that book of Cato, which is entitled, "Carmen de Moribus," wherein are these words: "They thought avarice included all vices; but the expensive man, and who ever was thought ambitious, elegant, vicious, or foolish, he was commended." From which it is plain, a man was not called by the ancients *elegant*, with reference to his genius¹, but

¹ *To his genius.*]—We find that the term *elegans verborum* was applied by way of distinction to Sallust, whilst Terence was called *compositum atque elegans*. With us it is used invariably in a good sense; but it does not seem to have been a favourite expression with our older writers: I

but from a too frivolous attention to dress and outward appearance. Afterwards, it ceased to be a term of censure ; but he was not thought worthy of commendation, whose elegance was not very moderate. So Marcus Tullius pays a compliment to Lucius Crassus and Quintus Scævola, not for their elegance only, but their œconomy mixed with it. “ Crassus (says he) was the most œconomical of *elegant* men, and Scævola the most *elegant* of the œconomical.” And in the same book of Cato, we find it here and there mentioned. “ It was customary (says he) to be dressed handsomely in public, and plainly at home. They purchased horses at a dearer rate than cooks. Poetry was in no esteem² ; and if any one addicted himself to the

study

do not remember to have met with it in Shakspere, and I know but of one place where it occurs in Milton. Milton uses it in its classical sense of correctness—

Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste,
And elegant.

* *In no esteem.*]—The fate of poets seems to have been much the same in all ages—their productions honoured, and themselves neglected. The maxim of Charles the IXth seems to have prevailed in every age: “ *Equi et poetæ alendi non saginandi.*” Though Otway, Chatterton, and some others, would have been glad if even this cold comfort had been granted them. It is certain, that in the time of the republic, poets were held in no estimation at Rome ; they wandered from house to house, singing the praises of those who would give them a dinner. When

Fulvius

study of it, or frequented entertainments, he was called a glutton." And in the same book, is that celebrated sentence of truth, " Human life is much like iron—if you use it, it is worn away, if you use it not, rust consumes it. So we see men worn away by exercising themselves, while sluggishness and torpor, without exercise, is yet more detrimental."

Fulvius went on some expedition as consul into Ætolia, he was abused for his effeminacy, in taking Ennius the poet in his suite. Plato, a very wise man, has in some part of his works, this remark: No one in his senses will knock at the door of the Muses.

CHAP. III.

*Various usages of the particle pro, with examples, **

WHEN I find leisure from law causes, and business, and for the sake of exercise I walk or ride, I am accustomed to turn over in my mind matters trifling and of small consequence, and which appear despicable to the unlearned, which however are necessary to the clear understanding of antiquity, and particularly to the knowledge of the Latin language. As it happened lately in the retirement of Prænestine, walking by myself in the evening, I considered of the various usages in the Latin language of certain particles, as for instance in the preposition *pro*. For at one time I observed they say, “ that the priests have passed a decree (*pro collegio*) according to the power of their order;” at another, “ a witness was brought in (*pro testimonio*) to give evidence.” Marcus Cato one while writes, as in the fourth book of his *Origins*, that

* I believe it will be enough, if at this chapter I translate the remark of Quintus Carolus:—“ As for this chapter, reader, go to the dictionary-makers, who have curiously investigated the signification of this particle, and no one can be ignorant of the elements.

the battle was engaged in and fought (*pro castris*) before the camp: and in his fifth, that all the cities and islands were considered (*pro Illyrio*) as belonging to Illyricum. Sometimes they say (*pro æde Castoris*) for the temple of Castor: sometimes (*pro rostris*) before the rostra, before the tribune's chair, before the assembly, and sometimes that the tribune of the people interceded (*pro potestate*) by virtue of his authority. Now I thought that whoever imagined these words to be altogether like each other, or of equal efficacy, or yet differing from each other in every particular, falls into an error. For I was of opinion, that the variety of their signification was to be traced from the same origin and fountain, though not to the same end; which he will easily understand, who will consider the matter attentively, and use himself to consult our old books, and records of any celebrity.

CHAP. IV.

In what manner Ennius imitated Euripides.

THREE are some verses in the *Hecuba* of Euripides, charming in their language, and remarkable for their conciseness. *Hecuba* is speaking to Ulysses :

Τοδ' αξιωμα καν κακως λεγυτο σον¹
Πεισει λογος γαρ εκ Τ ασοξεντων ιων
Κακ των δοκαντων αυτος ο ταυτον σθενει

These lines Quintus Ennius, in his translation of that tragedy, has very well imitated in an equal number of verses.

Hæc tu, & si perversè doces, facile Achivos
flexeris,
Nam cum opulente² loquuntur pariter, atque
ignobiles,
Eadem dicta eademque oratio æqua, non
æquè valet.

Ennius,

¹ These lines are thus translated by Wodhull :

Although you weakly argue, with your rank
Convince them ; for the self-same speech, when utter'd
By th' ignoble, and men well esteemed,
Comes not with equal force.

For *πινατι* in the second verse, many would read *πινα* ; the difference is not great.

² *Opulente.*] — Alciatus thinks that Ennius wrote *opinati*, which

Ennius, as I said before, has well translated the passage, though the word *ignobiles* but ill answers to $\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\alpha\delta\omega\xi\zeta\pi\tau\omega\mathfrak{v}$, and *opulenti* to $\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\alpha\delta\omega\xi\pi\tau\omega\mathfrak{v}$. For neither are all who are ignoble disesteemed, nor are all who are rich esteemed.

which the verse requires as well as the sense; in which case the censure of Gellius falls to the ground, for *opinati* means men in honour and estimation, and corresponds exactly with $\delta\omega\xi\pi\tau\omega\mathfrak{v}$. Gellius himself has the expression of *operatissimi auctores*, for authors of great estimation.

C H A P. V.

Certain things lightly touched upon concerning the Pyrrhonian philosophers, and the Academics; with the difference between them.

THOSE whom we call Pyrrhonian¹ philosophers, by a Greek surname are termed Sceptics, which signifies as it were enquirers, doubters;

¹ *Pyrrhonian.*]—Pyrrho, the founder of this sect, if that can properly be called a sect which rejected all principles, was born at Elea, of obscure parents, and was bred originally to the profession of a painter, but forsook that art for philosophy. This he studied first under Dryso, son of Stilpo, then under Anaxarchus, with whom he went to India, in the

doubters ; for they determine nothing, they fix nothing, but are always examining and considering the nature of that on which they might determine. And indeed they seem to themselves not to see or to hear any thing clearly, but to undergo a certain affection like seeing and hearing : and upon those very things which produce these affections, they are always deliberating and contemplating what sort of things they are. And the confidence and veracity of all things is, they say, such an incomprehensible mixture of truth and falsehood, that every man who is not precipitate and rash in his judgment, should use the words which they report from Pyrrho, the founder of their sect. “ Has not

the army of Alexander. The scepticism of Pyrrho naturally enough arose from the atomic philosophy of Democritus, which he studied under Anaxarchus, and from the fallacies of logic, which he exercised under Dryfo. The accounts of his exposing his life to danger continually, by walking straight forward in spite of all obstacles, as not believing that any thing he saw before him was real, are probably fictitious. When we observe the subtlety of Gellius’s distinction between this sect and that of the Academics, we cannot wonder that they have been often confounded. It was to very different philosophers than those of Pyrrho’s maze or Epicurus’s sty that Milton applies these charming lines :

How charming is divine philosophy !
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo’s lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar’d sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns.

the matter rather this meaning, or that meaning, or neither?" For they deny that proofs of any thing, or its real properties, can be known and perceived; and they endeavour to inculcate and prove this by many arguments. Upon which subject Favorinus has composed, with much subtlety and logic, ten books, which he entitles, " Pyrrhonian Modes." For it is an old question, which has often been discussed by the Greek writers, in what things, and to what degree the Pyrrhonians differed from the Academics. For both were called Sceptics, enquirers, hesitaters, who affirm nothing, and think nothing can be comprehended. But they call all objects ($\phiωτασιας$) appearances, not as the nature of the objects is, but as the affection of the mind or body is in them, upon whom those objects strike. Therefore all those things which act upon the senses of men, they call " $\tauων προς τι$," things which have a reference to something else; which phrase means, that it has nothing consisting in itself, no inherent and natural power. But that all things have a reference to something, and appear to be such as their image represents them; and as they are formed by our senses which they touch upon; and not by that nature whence they themselves proceed. But the Pyrrhonians and Academics think alike upon these subjects; yet they are thought to differ upon certain others, and particularly, because the Academics as it were understand that nothing can ever

ever be understood, and as it were determine that nothing can ever be determined ; while the Pyrrhonians affirm, that this by no means seems true, because nothing seems true.

CHAP. VI.

The Roman women did not swear by Hercules, nor the men by Castor.

IN ancient writings, neither do the Roman women swear by Hercules, nor the men by Castor. Why the former did not swear by Hercules¹ is plain, for they abstained from sacrificing to

* *By Hercules.*]—See Propertius, iv. El. 10.

Maxima quæ gregibus devota est ara repertis,
Ara per has inquit maxima facta manus,
Hæc nullis unquam pateat veneranda puellis,
Herculis eximii ne sit inulta sitis.

The Romans observed many peculiarities with respect to the worship of Hercules. When they sacrificed to Hercules, they introduced the name of no other god, nor suffered any dog to come within the inclosure. The reason of this, according to Plutarch, was, first, that he was but a half-god ; and next, that he hated a dog, on account of the trouble he had with Cerberus.—From the same authority, we learn that

to him; but why the men did not call upon Castor in their oath, is not so easily explained. It is no where to be found amongst good authors, that a woman says (“*Mehercule*”) by Hercules, or that a man says (“*Mecaſtor*”) by Castor. But (“*Ædepol*”) which is swearing by Pollux, is common to man and woman. But Marcus Varro affirmed, that more anciently the men swore neither by Castor nor Pollux, but that this oath was used only by women, and was taken from the initiation to the Eleusinian mysteries. By degrees, however, through inattention to an-

that there were two altars to Hercules, a greater and a less; and that the women were not allowed to taste of what was offered on the greater.

The children of the Romans were forbidden to swear by Hercules in the house, but they might go out of doors and do so. Plutarch says, in his Roman Questions, that history relates of Hercules, that he never swore but one oath in his life. With respect to what Gellius says of *Mecaſtor*, there are exceptions to this rule, in the last act of the *Asinaria* of Plautus, where *Antemena* says, “*Hoc Ecastor est, quod ille it ad cænam cotidie.*”

Ecastor and *Mecaſtor* are perfectly equivalent, and were used indifferently. According to Vossius, whose opinion seems the best on this subject; both *e* and *me* are juralive particles, adopted from the Greek *en* and *με*, the *en* being dropped from the former. Thus we have, in the *Phormio* of Terence, act. ii. sc. 2. *Ecere*, according to the old glossary, for *by Ceres*. *Ejuno* and *Equirine*, are also found for *by Juno* and *by Quirinus*; *e de Pol*, is *per deum Pollucem*; *me dius Fidius*, *per Jovis filium*. There is also *Mehercule*, for *by Hercules*. They who derive *Ædepol* from *per ædem Pollucis*, of course write it with an *æ* in the first syllable.

tiquity,

tiquity, the men began to say ("Ædepol") and it became a customary phrase: but *Mecastor*, spoken by a man, is to be found in no old writing.

C H A P. VII.

Old and obsolete words not to be used.

TO use words which are become somewhat obsolete and worn out, seems equally a fault with using unaccustomed terms of harsh and vulgar novelty: But it is, I think, more disagreeable and more offensive, to use new, unknown, and unheard-of words, than those which are low and mean. By new, I mean those which are unusual, or laid aside, though in date they may be ancient. But this is frequently the fault of late instruction, which the Greeks call *oψιμαθία*¹. What you have never learned, you will be a long

* *oψιμαθία.*]—Our author has very happily hit off the most prevalent cause of this affectation of obsolete words, which he characterises under the title of *oψιμαθία*, or late-acquired learning. Theophrastus has a chapter on the subject of *oψιμαθία*; but in his acceptation of the term, it means a late passion for learning, and particularly a desire to learn such things as are fit only for an earlier age.

a long time learning; and when at last you begin to know it, you make it appear of vast moment, wheresoever and whensoever you speak of it. As it happened lately at Romē, when I was present, an old man, in repute as a pleader, but who had become learned in an irregular and sudden manner, was speaking before the prætor, and intended to tell him that a certain poor man lived in a miserable manner, eat bread made of bran, and drank vapid and filthy wine. “This Roman knight (says he) eats chaff (*apludam*), and drinks vinegar (*floces*).” All who were present looked one at another, at first with a disturbed and inquiring countenance, anxious to know the meaning of each word; afterwards, as if he had spoken something in the Tuscan or Gallic language, they joined in a loud laugh. Now, this man had read, that the ancient farmers called the bran (*apludam*) which he met with in that play of

Galen, in his book *de Agnitione Pulsuum*, speaks of the kind of opsimathy mentioned by Gellius, describing men who introduce into medical dissertations such matters as they ought to have learned at school, with other liberal knowledge. “According,” says he, “to the custom of men who acquire knowledge late, and are unable to keep it to themselves, though quite foreign to the art they treat of.”

Cicero, jesting on himself as having late in life become a follower of Epicurus, and requiring therefore to be well fed, says, “Οὐιμαθεῖς autem homines scis quam insolentes sint.”—You know how impertinent they are who pick up their knowledge late in life. *Ep. ad Div.* ix. 20.

Plautus (if it be his) called the *Astraba*². He had likewise read that *floces* (*vinegar*) in the old language, signified the dregs of wine, like the lees of oil. This he had picked up from Cæcilius in his “*Merchants*,” and had preserved the two words as ornaments of speech. Another tasteless fellow³ of this stamp, when his adversary required that the cause should be put off, “*I intreat you* (says he) *prætor, assist me, succour me, how long does this bovinator, shuffler, intend to delay me?*” and then three or four times, with a loud voice, he bawled out the word *bovinator*. A whispering took place among some who were present, wondering at this monster of a word. When he, exulting, as in triumph, cries, “*Have you not read Lucilius, who calls a shuffling double-dealer, bovinator?*” The verse is in his ninth book.

* This shifting shuffler, with abusive tongue.

* *Astraba.*]—*Ασπαβη* is Greek for Clitella; this comedy is therefore considered as the same with that called in Latin *Clitellaria*, or the *Packsaddle*. Perhaps *Astraba* was the name of one of the *Dramatis Personæ*. Nonius Marcellus speaks doubtfully as to the point, whether this comedy is to be attributed to Plautus or not. Festus cites the word *apluda* from *Nævius*—*Per hercle apluda est hodie quam tu nequior*.

* *Tasteless fellow.*]—In the original ‘*aperocalus*.’ In Greek *απειροναλια* was nearly equivalent to *αψιμαθια* in its usage. It described that want of proper conduct which Gellius attributes to late instruction.

* *Hic strigosus, bovinatorque ore improbus duro.*

CHAP. VIII.

What Marcus Cato thought and said of Albinus, who though a Roman, composed a history of his own country in Greek, at the same time apologizing for his ignorance.

MARCUS CATO is said to have censured Aulus Albinus with great justice, and elegance. Albinus, who was consul with Lucius Lucullus, wrote a Roman history in Greek. In the beginning of his history he has expressed this sentiment, “ That no one can blame him, if he shall have written any thing in those books incorrectly, or without elegance ; for, (says he) I am a Roman, born in Latium, and

* *Albinus.*]—This Albinus is mentioned with respect by Cicero in his Brutus, where he is called literatus atque disertus. A jest also of his against Carneades is related in the Lucullus, c. 45. Macrobius also relates the same incident as from Cornelius Nepos ; but the life of Cato by this writer is obviously imperfect.

This kind of apology, introduced by Albinus, is very common, and may be found in many, and those the best writers, ancient and modern. See the beginning of Apuleius—Macrobius, i. 1. See also the Apophthegms of Plutarch.

The same anecdote is related also by Plato, in his History of Cato Minor.

the Greek tongue is quite foreign to me." Therefore he sought indulgence and favour towards his errors. When Marcus Cato read this, "Surely (says he) Aulus, thou art a trifler, since thou would'st rather apologize for a fault, than avoid it. It is usual to ask pardon, either when we have erred through ignorance, or done wrong from compulsion. But I desire to know, who compelled thee to do that for which you ask pardon, before you commit the fault?" This is in Cornelius Nepos's book upon Illustrious Men.

C H A P. IX.

Story of the ambassadors of Miletus, and Demosthenes the orator, taken from Critolaus.

CRITEOLAUS¹ relates, that ambassadors came from Miletus to Athens upon public business, perhaps to request assistance. They engaged what lawyers they thought proper, to speak for them, who, as they were instructed, addressed the people in behalf of the Milesians. Demos-

¹ *Critolaus.*—The age of this historian is uncertain; he is mentioned once or twice by Plutarch. See Vossius de Hist. Græc. l. iii.

thenes replied with severity to the demands of the Milesians, and contended that they were unworthy of assistance, nor was it the interest of the state to grant it. The matter was deferred to the following day. The ambassadors in the mean time came to Demosthenes, and with great earnestness intreated that he would not oppose them. He asked for money, and they gave him what he demanded. On the day following, when the business was again debated, Demosthenes came into public with his neck and jaws wrapped up in woollen, complaining that he had a quincy, and could not speak against the Milesians. On this one of the people called out, that Demosthenes was troubled with the silver-quincy². Demosthenes (says Critolaus) did not afterwards

² *Silver-quincy.*]—Argyranche. If the reader does not think me tedious, I shall not lament taking a little trouble to rescue a man of such eminence as Demosthenes from an imputation which probably had no foundation.

The same reproach against Demosthenes is related by Plutarch, in his life of that orator, but with circumstances perfectly different. His narrative is this, “ It was not long after this, when Harpalus quitted the service of Alexander, and fled out of Asia to Athens, he was conscious to himself of many lewd practices occasioned by his luxury, and feared the king, who was now grown terrible even to his best friends; yet this man had no sooner addressed himself to the people, and delivered up his goods, his ships, and himself to their disposal, but the other orators of the town had their eyes quickly fixed on his money, and came in to his assistance, persuading the Athenians to receive and pro-

afterwards conceal the matter, but considered it as a matter of triumph. For, having asked Aristodemus the player, how much he received

for staff for
twelve oys

test their suppliant. But Demosthenes at first gave advice to chase him out of the country, and to beware lest they involved their city in a war, upon so unnecessary and unjust an occasion. Yet some few days after, as they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus, perceiving how much he was pleased with the king's cup, and how curiously he surveyed the sculpture and fashion of it, he desired him to poise it in his hand, and consider the weight of the gold. Demosthenes being amazed to feel how heavy it was, asked him what price it would come for? "To you, sir," said Harpalus, "it shall come with twenty talents;" and presently after, when night drew on, he sent him the cup with so many talents. This Harpalus, it seems, was a person of good skill to discern a man's covetousness, by the air in his countenance, and from the pleasant cast of his eyes to discern his nature. For in short, Demosthenes could not resist the temptation, but receiving the present like a garrison into his house, he was overcome, and wholly surrendered himself up to the interest of Harpalus. The next day he came into the assembly, with his neck swathed about with wool and rollers, and when they called on him to rise and speak, he made signs as if he had lost his voice. But the wits, turning the matter to ridicule, said, that certainly the orator had not been seized that night with a simple but a silver squinty."

I have used the translation of Dryden, which is however in many places very inaccurate, and affords a strong proof of the careless and imperfect manner in which that job was performed. The pun upon *αξει* in particular is totally lost. Demosthenes asked *ποσον αξει*, how much does

it

for acting, he answered, a talent. I (says Demosthenes) have had more for holding my tongue.

it weigh or bring? Harpalus answered, *αξις σοι εικοσι ταλαντα*, it shall bring to you twenty talents.

In refutation of the above, I must now beg leave to insert the following translation from the second book of Pausanias, which carries with it every internal mark of authenticity and truth. “ Demosthenes, in his old age, was compelled not only to go into exile, but to kill himself. Many things have been related of him by others, and asserted by himself, importing that of the riches which Harpalus brought out of Asia, Demosthenes received nothing. What was afterwards said, I shall here relate. Harpalus, flying from Athens, went with some ships to Crete, where, after a short time, he was murdered by some of his domestics. Some say he was by some artifice put to death by Pausanias, a man of Macedon. Philoxenes the Macedonian seized his treasurer when flying to Rhodes; and the same person had also required of the Athenians to deliver up Harpalus to him. When in possession of this man's person, he made rigorous enquiry concerning all who had received money of Harpalus; whom when he knew he sent letters to Athens. In these, he not only mentioned by name those who had taken any bribes, but the particular sum which each individual had received: but he made no mention of Demosthenes, although the orator was very obnoxious to Alexander, and although Philoxenes himself personally hated him.—Honours are paid to Demosthenes, both in other parts of Greece, and particularly by the inhabitants of Calaurea.”

Erasinus, who hunted for proverbs wherever he could find them, has the phrase of Argentanginam pati, which he explains and exemplifies from the above story of Demosthenes, as given by Plutarch.

CHAP. X.

Caius Gracchus fixes the above story upon Demades and not Demosthenes. C. Gracchus's words quoted.

THE story which in the foregoing chapter we said was told by Critolaus of Demosthenes, Caius Gracchus, in his speech against the Aufeian law, has related of Demades¹, in these words:

¹ *Demades.*]—The story which is in this chapter related of Demades, is much more likely to be true of him than of Demosthenes. Demades was as remarkable for his avarice and extortion, as for his want of integrity. Plutarch relates, in the life of Phocion, that Antipater used to say, he had two friends at Athens, Phocion and Demades, on one of whom he could never prevail to accept any thing, to the other he could never give enough. Phocion gloried in his poverty, which he preserved to the hour of his death, though so often in command for Athens, and in friendship with many sovereigns; but Demades was proud of his wealth, even though dishonestly obtained. There was a law at Athens, that for every foreign dancer on the stage, the Choragus should pay a thousand drachmas. Demades exhibited a hundred foreign dancers on the stage, and at the same time paid down the fine of a thousand drachmas for each. When he celebrated the nuptials of his son Demeas, he said, ‘When I married your mother, my next door neighbour

words: “ For you, O Romans ! if you would be wise and virtuous, will find, if you enquire, that no one of us comes forward into public without being paid for it ; that all who address you, have some request to make ; nor does any one come before you for any other purpose, than that he may carry something away. I myself, who am now speaking to recommend to you an increase of your taxes, that you may be able to answer your own exigencies, and those of the state, do not deliver my sentiments without reward. What I seek of you is not money, but honour, and your good opinion. The orators who dissuade you from accepting this law, do not want your honours, but the money of Nicomedes. And they who persuade you to accept it, they too do not look for your good opinion, but for the friendship and the purse of Mithridates ; whilst they who sit upon the same seat, and are silent, they

bour hardly perceived the celebration of our nuptials, but the expences of your marriage are paid by kings and potentates.’ He proposed at Athens, that Alexander should be the thirteenth of the great gods. He was fined for his impiety ; but he told the Athenians to take care, that in their scrupulous anxiety about the heavens, they did not lose the earth. In his account of this anecdote, at the article Olympias, Bayle with great acuteness detects Erasmus of a material error, in not properly understanding the words of Demades.

The Athenians afterwards deified Alexander, decreeing him the honours of Bacchus. ‘ Pray,’ said Diogenes, ‘ deify me too, and make me Serapis.’

are your bitterest enemies, for they receive a bribe from all parties, and are faithful to none. While you consider such people as not engaged in these matters, you compliment them with your esteem: but the ambassadors of princes, when they suppose orators hold their peace in compliment to them, are very lavish in their gifts. As in Greece, when a tragedian boasted that he had received a whole talent for one night's acting, Demades, the most eloquent man in the state, is reported to have answered, ' You seem to think it wonderful, that you have gained a talent by speaking. Now, I received ten talents from the king for being silent.' So too do these receive the greatest price for holding their peace."

C H A P. XI.

The words of Publius Nigidius, in which he says there is a difference between lying and telling a lye.

THESE are the words of Publius Nigidius, a man of great eminence in polite literature, and for whom Marcus Cicero had the highest respect, on account of his genius and accomplishments. “ There is a difference between telling a lye, and lying. He who lies is not deceived himself, but attempts to deceive another ; he who tells a lye, is himself deceived.”

* These distinctions of Nigidius are little better than quibbles : *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere* do not necessarily differ in Latin, more than *to lye*, and *to tell a lye* in English ; but it is evident, that a man may possibly tell or repeat a lye, either knowing it to be such, or not knowing it. In the former case, if he endeavours to make it pass for truth, he himself lies ; in the latter, he is only deceived. Polybius puts the thing much more plainly and sensibly. He says, “ There are two ways of speaking falsely, either through ignorance, or by choice ; the former is pardonable, the latter not.”

Apuleius, in his vindication of himself against the charge of magic, makes the same distinction betwixt the words *mentiri* and *falli* as Nigidius does betwixt *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere*.

He adds likewise, “ He who lyes, deceives, as far as he is himself concerned ; but he who tells a lye, does not deceive as far as he is concerned.” He moreover says, “ It behoves a good man to take care not to lye, and a wise one not to tell a lye.” The former falls upon the man himself, the other does not. Distinctly, in truth, and neatly, has Nigidius separated his examinations of this subject, in such a manner as to make them appear two different things.

C H A P. XII.

Chrysippus the philosopher says, that every word is ambiguous and doubtful. Diodorus thinks, on the other hand, that no word is so.

CHYSIPPUS¹ affirms, that every word is by nature ambiguous, because two or more interpretations may be given of it. But Diodorus,

¹ *Chrysippus.*]—Chrysippus, according to Diogenes Laertius, wrote two books upon ambiguous expressions, and addressed them to Apollas or Apellas. Quintilian alludes to the same assertion of this philosopher, where he says, “ There are so many species of amphibology, or dubious expression,

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 301

Diodorus, surnamed Cronus, says, that no word is ambiguous, nor does any one speak a word or receive it in two senses; nor ought it to seem as if spoken in any other sense than that which the speaker intends to give it. For (says he) when I speak a word in one sense, and you receive it in another, it must be rather spoken obscurely than

pression, that, according to some philosophers, there is no word that has not more than one meaning."

The distinction of Diodorus Cronus, in opposition to this, seems to contain only a refinement of no great use or importance. This Diodorus is also frequently quoted by Sextus Empiricus, but there seems to be a doubt whether the name of Cronus properly belongs to Diodorus. See Meibomius ad Diog. Laert. vol. ii. p. 126.

The name of Cronus occurs in an epigram of Callimachus, where he is called a wise man. Ο Κρόνος εστι σοφος. A singular anecdote is told of him by Diogenes Laertius, that being at the court of Ptolemy, and unable to answer some ænigmatical question from Stilpo, he died of grief. An epitaph, or rather epigram, exists, which I hope to be excused for inserting.

Κρόνε Διοδώρε τις σε δειμοινων κακη
Αθυμιαξ ξυνιζουσεν,
Ιν' αυτος αετον εμβαλης εις ταρταρον
Στιλπωνος ον λυσας επη
Αισιγματωδη; τοι γαρ ευριθης Κρόνος
Εξωθεν τυ ρω καππατε.

Literally thus:—"Cronus Diodorus, what deity could so deprive you of your senses, as to induce you to put an end to your life, because you could not solve the riddles of Stilpo? you will therefore appear to be really *Κρόνος*, taking away the *κ* and the *ρ*."—Anglicè, *an a/i, o/oς* being Greek for an *a/i*.

ambiguously.

ambiguously. The nature of an ambiguous word should be, that he who speaks should seem to say two or more things; but no man says two or more things, that means to say but one.

C H A P. XIII.

What Titus Castricius thought of the words and the sentiments of Caius Gracchus, not allowing any dignity to what he said.

A SPEECH of Caius Gracchus, against Publius Popilius, was read before Titus Castricius, a teacher of rhetoric, and a man of strong and solid judgment. In the beginning of that speech, the words were arranged with more studied attention, and more harmony, than is usual in the orators of antiquity. The words I speak of are these: “ The things which for years you have been anxiously aiming at, and wishing for, if you now

* *Anxiously.*]—We cannot easily find a more judicious criticism than this of Castricius. The words *cupide* and *temere*, in the former part of the sentence, absolutely destroy its effect, and reduce it almost to nonsense. Whereas, without them, it is strong and well-constructed.

H. Stephens is of the same opinion, and thinks that the
8 words

now rashly throw aside, it cannot fail but you must either be said to have desired without judgment, or to have rejected without consideration."

The rhythm and sound of this flowing sentence particularly pleased us, and so much the more, as we perceived, even in those days, such sort of composition was studied by Caius Gracchus, a man of eminence and gravity. But when these words were often read over to us, who called for a repetition of them, we were advised by Castricius to consider wherein consisted the force of the sentence, and what we gained² by it, and not to allow our ears to be so gratified by the flowing measures of an elegant sentence, as to overpower our judgment. When by this admonition he had made us more attentive, "Examine," says, he, "what after all, these words avail; and let any of you say, whether there be any weight or elegance in this sentence: 'The things which for years you have been anxiously

words *cupide* and *temere* are either misplaced, or that there is some corruption in the passage.

There is certainly a kind of tautology in the sentence, not unlike the one adduced by Quintus Carolus, from Plautus, to exemplify the passage.

Cui homini dii sunt propitii, ei non esse iratus pute. The gods cannot be displeased and angry with those to whom they are propitious.

² What we gained.]—*Emolumenti* in the original.—H. Stephens proposes to read *momenti*. Some editions read *monumentum*. See H. Stephens, 161.

aiming at and wishing for, if you now rashly throw aside, it cannot fail but you must either be said to have desired without judgment, or to have rejected without consideration.' For who is not aware that it is usual (*ut quod cupidè appetieris cupidè appetisse*) to desire earnestly that which you earnestly desire, and to throw aside with rashness, that which you rashly throw aside? But, according to my opinion, the sentence was thus written: 'What you have sought and wished for these many years, if you now reject, you cannot but be said either to have sought too anxiously, or to have rejected too rashly.' If it were so spoken, the sentence would surely be more weighty and more solid, and would satisfy the expectation of the hearer. But at present, the words *anxiously* and *rashly*, upon which the whole weight of the sentence hangs, are not only placed in the end of the sentence, but appear before they are wanted in the beginning; and that which ought to arise from the subject, is spoken before the subject calls for it. For he who says, 'If you do this, you will be said to have done it with too much anxiety,' speaks what is completed with some regard to sense; but he who says, 'If you do this anxiously, you will be said to have done it anxiously,' says no more than, if you do it anxiously, you do it anxiously. I have warned you (says he) of these matters, not that I might cast a censure upon Caius Gracchus (for the gods have blessed me with a better

better disposition ; and indeed, if any error could be pointed out in a man of such powerful eloquence, the authority of his name, and the antiquity of his writing, has now done it away) ; but I cautioned you to be on your guard, lest the modulated rhythm of any flowing sentence should too easily mislead you ; and that you might first balance the weight of the sentiments with that of the words ; and if any sentence was spoken weighty, complete and entire, then, if you thought proper, you should applaud it, in all its parts, with the loudest praise : but, if a meaning, cold, trifling, and futile, be conveyed in words accurately and harmoniously arranged, you would suppose it to be, as if men remarkable for their deformity should come forward as players, to delight you with their buffoonery."

C H A P. XIV.

*The wise and elegant answer of King Romulus, upon
the use of wine.*

LUCIUS PISO FRUGI* has expressed himself with the greatest simplicity and sweetness, as to the sentiments and the words, in his first book of Annals, when speaking of Romulus's mode of life. His words are these: "They relate of Romulus, that being invited to supper, he drank but little wine; because, on the day following, he was to be engaged in business. They say to him, Romulus, if all men were like you, wine would be cheaper. Rather, replied he, it would be dear, if every man were to do as I have done, drink as much as he chose."

* *L. Piso Frugi.*]—See book vi. chap. 9.

This author is mentioned by Cicero in his Brutus, but not in terms of very high respect.

Romulus, in abstaining from wine on account of business, seems to have been of the same opinion as Leotychidas, king of Sparta, who being asked why the Spartans drank so little wine, replied, "Because we mean to consult on our own affairs ourselves, and not to have others consider them for us."

C H A P. XV.

Upon the words *ludibundus*, *errabundus*, and the lengthening of words of that sort.—*Laberius* used *amorabunda* in the same manner.—*Sisenna*, by a word of this kind, formed a new figure.*

LABERIUS, in his *Lacus Avernus*, using a word in a new sense, has called a woman in love, *amorabundam*. That word *Cæselli* *Vindex*,

* Scaliger derives the termination *undus* from *unda*, and says that it implies the notion of magnitude, because the sea was always considered by the ancients as illustrative of greatness. He proceeds thus:

“Eorum autem materia talis est, ut quædam B. habeant alia C. *Populabundus*, *iracundus*, *rubicundus*, *verecundus*: quorum origo a futuro verborum ducta, significationem expressit perpetuationis; ut *populabundus* non solum qui *populatur*, sed etiam *populabitur*. Pauca ut *præsens* respexere, ut *iracundus* ab eo quod est *irasci*, *exempto* *sibili*, quasi qui semper *irascatur*, *rubicundus* qui semper *rubricet*.”

De Causis Ling. Lat. B. xiv. c. 98.

Much more on the subject of these derivative adjectives may be found in the same place. *Populabundus* is explained in the manner of Scaurus:—“In rebus autem voluntate præditis indicant etiam ostentationem sive professionem, atque etiam ut ita dicam fatagentiam, nam quem admodum differt verbale a participio, ita a verbali genus hoc nominum. *Pugnare* potest quis atque erit *pugnans*, *pugnator* longe

dex, in his Commentary upon Old Words, says, is formed by the same process as *ludibunda*, *ridibunda*, and *errabunda*, from *ludens*, *ridens*, and *errans*. But Terentius Scaurus, a very distinguished grammarian in the time of Adrian, among other remarks of his upon the errors of Cæsellius, has affirmed, that in this word also he is mistaken, inasmuch as he has supposed *ludens* to mean the same as *ludibunda*, *errans* as *errabunda*, *ridens* as *ridibunda*. Whereas *ludibunda* means one (quæ *ludentem agit aut simulat*) who pretends to be sportive; so of *ridibunda* and *errabunda*. But why Scaurus was induced to censure Cæsellius for this, in truth we have not discovered. For there is no doubt but the words have the same sense originally with those from which they spring. But the meaning of *ludentem agere*, or *imitari*, we would rather seem not to understand than accuse him of ignorance. But it would have been more becoming of Scaurus, censuring the commentaries of Cæsellius, to have remarked what the other has omitted, in what and how much *ludens* differs from *ludibundus*, *ridens* from *ridibundus*, *errans* from *errabundus*, and the like: whether they differ but little from their originals, and what particular force the

longe *alio modo idem significat*, *addit enim habitum sciendi pugnas*. Sic *populans* et *populator*, at *populabundus* hoc apponit insuper, ut palam præ se ferat animum ac spiritum *populioris*." He explains *vitabundus*, in Sallust, in the same manner.

concluding

concluding syllables of the words communicate. For this would have been a more pertinent enquiry in examining this figure, as in the words *vinolentus*, *lutulentus*, *turbulentus*; whether the addition be without any useful meaning, as in the Greek figure *paragoge*; or whether the concluding particles have any appropriate signification. In noticing this criticism of Scaurus, it occurred to me that Sisenna, in his fourth book, has used the same figure: “Laying waste (*populabundus*) the fields, he came to the town;” which means, when he actually laid waste the fields, not as Scaurus says of similar words, when he imitated one laying waste. But on my enquiry about the reason and origin of this kind of figure, as in *populabundus*, *errabundus*, *lætabundus*, and *ludibundus*, and many other similar words, our Apollinaris ingeniously observed, that the final and additional syllables of such words marked the force of abundance and excess. As *lætabundus* is said of one excessively joyful, *errabundus* of one who is very widely mistaken; and of the rest, where a similar figure is used, that this final addition marks the force of excess and abundance².

² The reason is assigned in the beginning of the preceding note.

310 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

CHAP. XVI.

The translation of certain Greek words into Latin is very difficult, as that which is called in Greek πολυπραγμοσυνη.

WE frequently observe the names of things which cannot be expressed in Latin as they are in Greek, by single words. Nor, if we used ever so many terms, would they be so clear and accurate, as the Greeks have before made them in one. Lately, when a book of Plutarch was produced to us, and we read the title of it, which was “*περὶ πολυπραγμοσυνῆς*,” a certain person, who was unlearned and ignorant of Greek, inquiring the title and subject of the book, we instantly told him the name of the writer; but when we came to speak of the subject of the book, we hesitated. Then indeed first, (because I did not

* This has been interpreted, by the translator of this part of Plutarch's *Morals*, an over-busy inquisitiveness into things impertinent; in other words, an impertinent curiosity. A person of this character was called in Latin *ardelio*. See *Martial*, lib. ii. ep. 7. and lib. iv. ep. 79.—

Vis dicare quid sis—magnus es ardelio.

Whoever has engaged in the business of translation from ancient authors, and from the Greek in particular, has frequently been impelled by necessity to subscribe to the truth of what this chapter asserts.

think it a sufficiently apt interpretation to say that the book was written *de negotiosisitate*) I began to examine by myself the expression, as they say, word by word. But there was nothing which I remembered to have read, or that I was able to invent, which did not seem rough, absurd, and harsh; had I formed *multitudo* and *negotium* into one word, as we say *multijuga*, *multicoloria*, and *multiformia*. But it would sound no less uncouth than if you were to translate in one word πολυφιλιαν, or πολυτροπιαν, or πολυμορφιαν. Wherefore, having remained silent for a short time in thought, I at length replied, that I did not think it could be expressed in one word, and therefore I had prepared to express the meaning of that Greek term by a compound phrase; “ The engaging in many concerns, and undertaking to execute them all, is called in Greek, (said I) πολυπραγμοσυνη,” concerning which, as the title tells, the book is written.” Then, says this illiterate man, misled by my unfinished and incorrect terms, “ So πολυπραγμοσυνη is a virtue; and this Plutarch, whoever he is, advises us, no doubt, to engage in business, and to take upon us as many concerns as possible; and properly enough he has written down in the title page the name of the virtue of which, as you say, he is about to speak in his book.” “ By no means,” I replied, “ for that is not considered as a virtue which is treated of in the book with a Greek name; nor does Plutarch do that which you suspect, or I

suppose I expressed. For in this very book he dissuades us as much as possible from the various, indecisive, and unnecessary thought and pursuit of too many concerns. But I conclude that your error is to be imputed," said I, "to my imperfect expression, who was unable, without the greatest obscurity, to speak that in many words which by the Greeks is said in one, with the greatest neatness and perspicuity."

C H A P. XVII.

The meaning of the phrase "flumina retanda," found in the old prætorian edicts.

AS I was sitting by chance in the library of the temple of Trajan¹, and looking for something else, the Edicts of the Ancient Prætors fell into my hands, and I thought proper to read and look them over. In one of the oldest edicts I found written, "If any one of those who have agreed with the public to scour the rivers, shall be brought before me on an information, that he has not done that which, by the condition

* *Trajan.*—This was generally called the Ulpian Library. On the subject of the Roman public libraries, I have before spoken, in my notes to the sixth book, as well as in my observations on Herodotus.

of his agreement, he was bound to have done." Then we enquired the meaning of the word *retanda*. A friend who was sitting with me said, that he had read, in the seventh book of Gavius, on the Origin of Words, that those trees were called *retas* which hung over the banks of rivers, or were found in their beds; and that they were so called (*a retibus*) from nets, because they impeded the progress of ships passing over them, and as it were netted or entangled them. Therefore he thought agreement was made to net, that is to cleanse, the rivers, that no delay or danger might happen to the vessels coming among the boughs of the trees.

CHAP. XVIII.

The punishment which Draco the Athenian, in his Laws, inflicted upon thieves.—Those of Solon afterwards; those likewise of our Decemviri, who wrote the Twelve Tables, in which it appeared that among the Ægyptians thefts were allowed; among the Lacedæmonians encouraged, and commended as an useful exercise.—The memorable saying of Marcus Cato upon the punishment of thefts.

THE Athenian Draco was held in great esteem, and considered as a man of consummate wisdom. He was skilled in laws, human and divine. This Draco was the first who made laws for the use of the Athenians. In these he decreed, and determined, that a delinquent taken in a theft of any kind should be punished with death; to this he added other laws, much too severe. His decrees, therefore, being too sanguinary^{*}, passed into disuse, not by any open act or ordinance, but by the tacit and unwritten con-

* *Too sanguinary.*]—Plutarch, in his Life of Solon, informs us, that Demades the orator used to say that Draco wrote his laws not with ink but blood. Plutarch says also, that it was said of Lycurgus that he dipped his pen in death.

sent of the Athenians. They afterwards used milder laws, as instituted by Solon, who was one of the seven illustrious wise men. He thought proper by his law to punish thieves (not as Draco had done, with death) but by a fine of double the value of the thing stolen. But our Decemvirs, who, after the expulsion of kings, composed laws in Twelve Tables for the use of the Roman people, neither punished with the same severity every species of theft, nor used a lenity which was too remiss; for they permitted a thief taken in the fact to be put to death, if he either committed the depredation in the night, or if, when taken, he defended himself with any weapon. But other thieves taken in the fact, if free, were sentenced to be scourged, and bound to the service of the plundered person, provided they committed the fact by day-light, and made no defence with weapons; if slaves, taken in the fact, they were to be scourged, and thrown from the rock; if boys under age, they were to be punished at the discretion of the *Prætor*, and their disgrace to be thus removed; and those thefts which were detected with a girdle and a mask² were punished

* *Girdle and a mask.*]—The Athenians, from whom this was borrowed, had a custom of searching for stolen goods with no cloaths, except a girdle round the waist, and a mask on the face. See Aristoph. *Nub.* ver. 458.

The reason of the mask is thus explained by Festus, at the word *lancea*.

punished as if openly perpetrated. But we now depart in our practice from the observance of the Decemviral law ; for if any one is willing to try a cause upon an open theft, the action is brought for four times the value. But that, says Massurius, is an open theft which is discovered in the fact ; and the act is complete when the thing is conveyed away, the robbery of which was attempted. For the receipt of stolen goods the penalty is threefold. But he who is desirous to understand the meaning of the terms *conceptum*³ and *oblatum*, and many other things of the same nature, handed down from the admirable customs of our ancestors, useful and agreeable to be known, may find them in a book of Sabinus, entitled, " Of Thefts," in which is told a circumstance, not commonly imagined, that not only men and moveables which may be feloniously carried off, but estates and houses, may be the subjects of theft ; and that a farmer was convicted of theft in having sold a farm which he rented, and driven its owner from his possession. Sabi-

" *Lance et licio dicebatur apud antiquos, quia qui furtum ibat quærere in domo aliena licio cinctus intrabat, lantemque ante oculos tenebat, propter matrum familiæ aut virginum præsentiam.*"

³ *Conceptum.*]—When the goods sought after in the manner described in the preceding note, it was called *furtum conceptum*. *Furtum oblatum* was the offering of stolen goods for sale. This subject will be found explained at some length by Heineccius, p. 549. &c.

nus further adds, what is still more extraordinary, that a person was condemned as having stolen a man, who, when a slave was passing within sight of his master, by holding out his robe, as if in the act of dressing himself, he prevented the master from discovering his servant's flight. Upon all other depredations, which are not called open ones, they imposed a fine of twice the value. I remember to have read, in the books of Ariston, a lawyer of no inconsiderable learning, that amongst the ancient Ægyptians (a race of men evidently ingenious in their inventions, and wise in the pursuit of natural philosophy), all thefts were allowed ⁴ by the law, and were unpunished. With respect to the Lacedæmonians, a prudent and active people, (the evidence of which is nearer to us than what is told of the Ægyptians) many eminent writers upon their customs and laws affirm, that theft was frequent, and allowed

⁴ *Thefts were allowed.*]—See Diodorus Siculus, l. i. c. 80. The law of the Ægyptians concerning thieves is singular enough, it orders those who choose to follow this profession, to enroll their names with the regulator of thefts (*προτόροι αρχιφορα*) and immediately to carry what they purloin to him. In like manner they who have lost any thing, leave with this person the description of each particular, with the day and hour when they lost it. Thus every thing may easily be discovered, and a sort of tax is levied, every one being permitted to have his property again, on paying a fourth part of its value. For, since theft cannot be entirely prevented, the legislator has found a method that the whole of what is lost may be regained, at the expence of a part of it.

by

by law, and that they did this from their youth, not for the sake of base profit, or providing money for the purposes of luxury, or amassing wealth, but to exercise and discipline them in the art of war ; because the dexterity and practice of thieving sharpened and strengthened the minds of young men, fitting them for the contrivances of ambuscade, the toils of watchfulness, and the quickness of surprize. But Marcus Cato, in his speech on the division of spoil among the soldiers, complains of their unpunished peculation and licentiousness, in strong and elegant terms. As the passage pleased me very much, I have subjoined it :—“ Those,” says he, “ who are guilty of private depredations, pass their life in confinement and fetters, while public plunderers are clad in gold and purple.” But the pure and accurate definition given by wise men of “ a theft” must not, I think, be passed over ; lest he alone should be thought a thief, who privately steals, and, in a secret manner, conveys any thing away. The words are those of Sabinus, in his second book of Civil Law : “ He is guilty of theft who lays his hands upon any thing belonging to another, when he ought to know that he touches it contrary to the will of its owner.” Also in another chapter, “ Who silently takes away another’s property for the sake of gain, is guilty of theft, whether he knows or is ignorant of its owner.” Thus Sabinus, in the book above cited, has written concerning “ things handled, in order to be stolen.”

But

But we ought to remember, according to what I have before said, that a theft may exist without any thing being touched, the mind alone, and the intention, consenting to it. Wherefore Sabinus says, he doubts not but the master may be convicted of theft who orders his servant⁵ to commit felony.

⁵ *Orders his servant.*]—The maxim of “qui facit per alium facit per se,” makes a complete condemnation of a master who commands a slave to do any unlawful act.

BOOK XII.

C H A P. I.¹

Dissertation of the philosopher Favorinus, in which he persuaded a lady of rank to suckle her child herself, and not to employ nurses.

WORD was brought once to Favorinus the philosopher, when I was with him, that the wife of one of his disciples was brought to-bed,

* This will doubtless be thought by every reader an entertaining and interesting chapter; and after making due allowance for the variations of language and of manners, the precepts which it contains and communicates may properly enough be recommended to the females of our age and country. It is, I fear, but too true that many mothers, from principles of personal vanity, or an excessive love of dissipation and pleasure, forego the delightful satisfaction of nursing their children at their own breasts, lest the employment should injure their beauty, or interfere with occupations comparatively contemptible. On the other hand, the poor infants, who are thus removed from the tenderness to which they have so powerful a claim, frequently fall the victims, often of neglect, and sometimes of cruelty. This remark does not apply to the higher ranks of life alone, for

to-bed, and a son added to the family of his pupil. "Let us go," says he, "to see the woman, and congratulate the father." He was a senator, and of a noble family. We, all who were present, followed him to the house, and entered with him. Then, at his first entrance, embracing and congratulating the father, he sat down, and enquired whether the labour had been long and painful. When he was informed that the young woman, overcome with fatigue, was gone to sleep, he began to converse more at large. "I have no doubt," says he, "but she will suckle her son herself." But when the mother of the lady said, that she must spare her daughter, and find nurses * for the child, that to the pains of

for it is observed, that the number of infants of all conditions, who perish from the prevailing custom of putting out children to nurse, is almost incredible. I am also given to understand by those whose judgments in matters of this kind are superior to my own, that the females who refuse to suckle their children, from the idea that the employment will be injurious to their beauty, frequently deceive themselves; that from the circumstance of unnaturally repelling the milk, cancers, tumours, asthmas, and a long train of dangerous and dreadful maladies, frequently ensue.

* *Find nurses.*]—It is certain, that both among the Greeks and Romans, the suckling of children was a servile office. Among the Romans, Greek women were preferred for this purpose. See Tacitus in *Dial. de Causis Cor. Eloq.*

"At nunc natus infans, delegatur Græcula; alieni ancillæ cui adjungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus."

322 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

of child-birth might not be added the toilsome and difficult task of sucking the child; "I entreat you, madam," said he, "allow her to be the sole and entire mother of her own son. For how unnatural a thing is it, how imperfect and half-soft of motherly office, to bring forth a child, and instantly to send him from her; to nourish in her womb, with her own blood, something which she has never seen, and not with her own milk to support that offspring which she now sees endued with life and human faculties, and imploring the tender care of a mother. And do you suppose," he continued, "that nature has given bosoms to women only to heighten their beauty, and more for the sake of ornament, than to nourish their children. For on this account (which be it far from you) many unnatural women endeavour to dry up and extinguish that sacred fountain of the body, and nourishment of man, with great hazard turning and corrupting the channel of their milk, lest it should render the distinctions of their beauty less attractive. They do this with the same insensibility as those who endeavour by the use

As soon as an infant is born, he is given to the care of some Greek female, to whom is joined one or more of the very meanest of the slaves.

Somebody once reproached a free-born Athenian woman, that she had taken a child to nurse for hire; she excused herself by saying, that it was in time of war, when the Athenians had lost much of their property, and it was not an easy thing for citizens to support their dignity. The anecdote is somewhere in Demosthenes.

of quack medicines to destroy their conceptions³, lest they should injure their persons and their shapes. Since the destruction of a human being in its first formation, while he is in the act of receiving animation, and yet under the hands of his artificer, nature, is deserving of public detestation and abhorrence; how much more so must it be to deprive a child of its proper, its accustomed and congenial nutriment, when now perfect and produced to the world. But it is of no consequence, it is said, provided it be nourished and kept alive, by whose milk it is. Why does not he who affirms this, if he be so ignorant of the processes of nature, suppose likewise that it is of no consequence from what body or from what blood an human being is formed and put together? Is not that blood, which is now in the breasts, and has become white by much spirit and warmth, the same as that which was in the womb? But is not the wisdom of nature evident

³ *Destroy conceptions.*]—The custom of procuring abortion I understand to be very prevalent in oriental countries, and wherever polygamy is allowed. When a favourite sultana proves with child, she incurs great risk of being supplanted in the affections of her master, and has therefore recourse to the abominable means of counteracting nature. See in particular Russel's History of Aleppo.

A sentence which follows I have not translated: “ *Ne æquor illud ventris irrugetur.*” Ovid has an expression altogether similar,—

Scilicet, ut careat rugarum criminè venter,
Sternetur pugnæ tristis arena tuæ.

also in this instance, that as soon as the blood, which is the artificer, has formed the human body within its penetralia, it rises into the upper parts, and is ready to cherish the first particles of life and light, supplying known and familiar food to the new-born infants ? Wherefore it is not without reason believed, that as the power and quality of the seed avail to form likenesses of the body and mind, in the same degree also the nature and properties of the milk avail toward effecting the same purpose. Nor is this confined to the human race, but is observed also in beasts. For if kids are brought up by the milk of sheep, or lambs with that of goats, it is plain, by experience, that in the former is produced a harsher sort of wool, in the latter a softer species of hair. So in trees, and in corn, their strength and vigour is great in proportion to the quality of the moisture and soil which nourish them, rather than of the seed which is put into the ground. Thus you often see a strong and flourishing tree, when transplanted, die away, from the inferior quality of the soil. What, I would ask, can be the reason then that you should corrupt the dignity of a new-born human being, formed in body and mind from principles of distinguished excellence, by the foreign and degenerate nourishment of another's milk ? particularly if she whom you hire for the purpose of supplying the milk be a slave, or of a servile condition, or, as it often happens, of a foreign and barbarous nation, or if she be dishonest,

fishonest, or ugly, or unchaste, or drunken ; for often, without hesitation, any one is hired who happens to have milk when wanted. And shall we then suffer this our infant to be polluted with pernicious contagion, and to inhale into its body and mind a spirit drawn from a body and mind of the worst nature ? This, no doubt, is the cause of what we so often wonder at, that the children of chaste women turn out neither in body or mind like their parents. Wisely and with skill has our poet Virgil spoken in imitation of these lines in Homer,—

Sure Peleus ⁴ ne'er begat a son like thee,
Nor Thetis gave thee birth : the azure sea
Produc'd thee, or the flinty rocks alone
Were the fierce parents of so fierce a son.

He charges him not only upon the circumstance of his birth, but his subsequent education, which he has called fierce and savage. Virgil, to the Homeric description, has added these words :

And fierce Hyrcanian tygers gave thee suck.

Undoubtedly, in forming the manners, the nature of the milk takes, in a great measure, the disposition of the person who supplies it, and then

• *Sure Peleus.*]—These are the words of Phœnix, reproaching Achilles for his stern and implacable temper. *Iliad* xvi. v. 33.

The quotation from Virgil is in the fourth *Æneid*, v. 367. See the note of Taubmannus at this passage, p. 589. and the parallel chapter of *Macrobius*, l. v. c. 11.

forms from the seed of the father, and the person and spirit of the mother, its infant offspring. And besides all this, who can think it a matter to be treated with negligence and contempt, that while they desert their own offspring, driving it from themselves, and committing it for nourishment to the care of others, they cut off, or at least loosen and relax, that mental obligation, that tie of affection, by which nature binds parents to their children? For when a child is removed from its mother, and given to a stranger, the energy of maternal fondness by little and little is checked, and all the vehemence of impatient solicitude is put to silence. And it becomes much more easy to forget a child which is put out to nurse, than one of which death has deprived us. Moreover, the natural affection of a child, its fondness, its familiarity, is directed to that object⁵ only from which it receives its nourishment, and thence (as in infants exposed at their birth) the child has no knowledge of its mother, and no regret for the loss of her. Having thus destroyed the foundations of natural affection, however children thus brought up may seem to love their

⁵ *Directed to that object.]*—The converse of this may also be used as an argument, if any such were wanting, to induce mothers to undertake this important office. See Letters to Married Women.

“ That the task itself is a pleasure, the fondness of nurses towards children at the breast fully proves; and that it is an indispensable duty, the feelings of human nature explain.”

father

father or mother, that regard is in a great measure not natural, but the result of civil obligation and opinion." These sentiments, which I heard Favorinus deliver in Greek, I have, as far as I could, related, for the sake of their common utility. But the elegancies, the copiousness, and the flow of his words, scarcely any power of Roman eloquence could arrive at, least of all any which I possess.

C H A P. II.

Annæus Seneca, in his judgment upon Ennius and Cicero, expressed himself in a trifling and futile manner.

SOME people consider Annæus Seneca as a writer of little value, whose works are not worth turning over, because his style is low and vulgar; his matter and his sentiments are expressed with a foolish and empty parade, or a trifling and affected pertness; while his learning is of the

* The censure which Gellius in this chapter passes upon Seneca, a man in most instances far superior to himself, will not easily be approved by men of learning. The works of Seneca undoubtedly contain much valuable and important matter. Quintilian has discussed the subject of his merit and talents at some length, and though in many respects he thinks him reprehensible, on the whole he allows him a degree of excellence, which the testimony and praise of succeeding ages has confirmed. His memory has also found an able and indefatigable vindicator in Lipsius. It is no little praise which Seneca deserves, when we consider, that in the most profligate and corrupt times of the Roman empire, and in the reign of a prince who considered every advocate of virtue as his own personal enemy, he dared to censure the vices, which debased his country, with equal dignity and justice. The story of Seneca's connection with Nero, and his fatal end, are subjects too notorious for discussion in this place.

common

common stamp, neither borrowing from the sources of antiquity, nor possessing any grace or dignity of its own. Some, however, do not deny him the praise of elegance in the choice of words, and even allow that he is not deficient in the knowledge of those subjects of which he treats ; and that he has censured the vices of the times with becoming gravity and solemnity. It is not necessary for me to pass my opinion upon every effort of his genius, or each of his writings, but we will examine the sentence he has passed upon M. Cicero, Q. Ennius, and P. Virgil. In the twenty-second book² of his Moral Epistles, addressed to Lucilius, he says, that Quintus Ennius has written these foolish verses concerning Cethagus, a man of antiquity :

— dictus ollis popularibus olim,
Qui cum vivebant homines atque ævum agi-
tabant,
Flos delibatus populi et Suada medulla.

He then criticises these lines thus: I wonder that those illustrious men, who were so devoted to

* *Twenty-second book.*]—The works of Seneca are not now divided into books ; the part to which there is here an allusion is lost. The fragment of Ennius may be thus interpreted : “ All his fellow citizens, who lived at that time, agreed in calling him (Cethagus) the chosen flower of the people, and the very marrow of eloquence.” The expression of Suada medulla occurs in Cicero. Suada was the goddess of eloquence, called by the Greeks Peitho,

Ennius, should have commended these ridiculous verses, as the best of that author's production. For Cicero quotes them as an example of good verse. He then says thus of Cicero: I no longer wonder that there are found those who will write such lines, since there are not wanting those who commend them; unless perchance Cicero was pleading some cause, and wished to make them appear excellent. He then adds this very stupid remark; even in the prose compositions of Cicero there are passages, from which you may discover that he has read Ennius, not without some profit. He also cites from Cicero, passages which he blames, as being imitations of Ennius, as in his books *de Republicâ*, where he says that Menelaus was endowed with a *suaviloquens jucunditas*³; and in another place, he observes in speaking a (*breviloquentiam*) concise-

³ *Jucunditas.*]—A sweet speaking pleasantness. Homer thus speaks of Menelaus:

When Atreus' son harangued the list'ning train,
Just was his sense, and his expression plain;
His words succinct and full, without a fault;
He spoke no more than just the thing he ought.

It may not be impertinent to add what Cicero and Quintilian say on this subject.

Cicero.—Menelaum ipsum dulcem illum quidem tradit Homerus, sed pauca loquentem.

Quintilian.—Homerus brevem cum animi jucunditate et propriam, id enim est non errare, verbis et carentem supervacuis, eloquentiam Menelao dedit.

notes.

ness. Then this trifling man proceeds to apologize for the errors of Cicero, which, he says, “ was the fault, not of the author, but of the age. When it was thought worth while to read such verses, it was necessary to write such criticisms.” He adds, that “ Cicero inserted this, that he might escape the censure of being too diffuse, and studious of terseness in his style.” In the same book, he passes this judgment upon Virgil. “ Our poet Virgil too, from the same reason, has written some harsh and irregular lines, of unusual length, that the popular taste for Ennius might discover something of antiquity in a modern poem.” But I am weary of Seneca’s remarks; yet I cannot omit these jokes of this foolish, insipid, and ignorant man. “ There are (says he) some sentiments in Ennius so striking, that although written amongst the (*hircosos*) lowest vulgar, yet give delight amongst the (*unguentatos*) most polished.” And having censured the lines before quoted upon Cethagus, he says, “ the man who likes such verses as these, may as well like the beds of Sotericus⁴.”

Worthy, no doubt, must Seneca appear of the perusal and attention of young men, who has

* *Sotericus.*]—This was probably some rude artificer of some celebrity in the less polished times of the republic. In after times, the beds of the Romans were sumptuously decorated with gold and silver. The beds of Sotericus became a proverbial expression for any thing of mean and inelegant workmanship.

compared the dignity and beauty of ancient composition to the beds of Sotericus, that is, as possessing no excellence, and as obsolete and contemptible. I shall however, in this place record and relate a few things which this Seneca has written well. Such is that which he has said of a miser, one covetous, and as it were thirsting for money. “ What does it signify how much you have, there is still much more which you have not.” This is very well indeed. But the taste of young men is not so much improved by good, as it is corrupted by bad writing. And so much the more, if the bad far exceeds the good, and part of the former is not given merely as a comment upon some simple and unimportant matter, but is communicated as advice in something of a dubious nature.

CHAP. III.

Meaning and origin of the word Lictor; different opinions of Valgius Rufus, and the freedman of Tullius Cicero.

VALGIUS RUFUS, in his second book, intituled, “*de Rebus per Epistolam quæfitis*,” says, the *lictor*¹ takes his name from *ligando*, because when the Roman magistrates ordered any one to be whipped with rods, his legs and hands were accustomed (*ligari*) to be bound by a beadle; and he whose office it was as beadle to bind the criminal, was called *Lictor*. He quotes likewise upon the subject the authority of Marcus Tullius, in his speech for Caius Rabirius. “*Lictor* (says he) bind his hands.” Thus says Valgius, and I am indeed of his opinion. But Tiro Tullius, the freedman of Cicero, derives *lictor* from (*linum*) a rope, or (*licium*) a

* *Lictor.*]—Nonius Marcellus is of the same opinion.

Lictoris proprietatem a ligando dictam putat vetustas,
Ita enim antiquitus carnificis officium fungebatur.

See also Festus:

Lictores dicuntur quod fasces virgarum ligatos ferunt,
Hi parentes magistratibus, delinquentibus plagas in-
gerunt.

thread.

thread. For (says he) they who attended upon the magistrates were girded with a twisted cord called a rope. Now, if any one thinks Tullius's opinion more probable, because the first syllable in *lictor* as in *licium* is long, and in *ligo* short, that is of no consequence, for *lictor* comes from *ligando*, as *lector* from *legendo*, *victor* from *vincendo*, *tutor* from *tuendo*, *struetor* from *struendo*, the vowels originally short being made long.

C H A P. IV.

Lines from the seventh book of Ennius's Annals, in which the disposition and conciliating conduct of an inferior toward a superior friend is described and defined.

IN the seventh book of Ennius's Annals is described with exactness and skill, in the character of Geminus Servilius¹, a man of rank, the disposition,

* *Geminus Servilius.*]—When Tullus Hostilius took and destroyed Alba, he removed many of the more noble families to Rome, and placed them in the senatorial order. Sufficient testimony of this incident appears from Livy and Dionysius Halicarnassensis. The Servilian family was among these, and always enjoyed the highest reputation and distinction.

disposition, the complaisance, the modesty, the fidelity, the restraint, and the propriety of speech; the knowledge of ancient and modern science; the strict obligation to preserve secrecy, with the various remedies to diminish the cares of life, by means of its relaxations and comforts, which ought to adorn him who professes himself the friend of one superior in rank to himself. Those verses are, I think, no less worthy of frequent and attentive perusal, than the decrees of philosophers upon the duties of life. Besides, there is such a sacred taste of antiquity in his lines, such an unmixed sweetness, so removed from all obscurity, that in my opinion they are to be remembered and observed as the ancient and consecrated laws of friendship. Wherefore I thought them worthy of being transcribed, if there be any one who has not seen them.

Thus saying, on his faithful friend he called,
 A friend, with whom in free and open talk
 The table's social joys he oft had shar'd;
 With whom he many a lengthen'd day had
 pass'd,

tion. The Servilius Geminus here mentioned was confidant with Lucius Aurelius, and according to a passage in the first book of the Tusculan Questions, chap. xxxvii. he signalized himself at the battle of Cannæ.

The verses quoted in this chapter are certainly corrupt. Turnebus has taken some trouble to explain them, and has in part succeeded. See his *Adversaria*, p. 620.

336 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

On serious or on trifling schemes, in council
deep;
On legal topics, senatorial power,
On high exploits, or gayer lighter themes,
Still speaking each his thought, approv'd or
not,
There lurk'd no base designs with mischief
fraught;
But virtue, learning, mildness, eloquence,
Contentment, knowledge, and a happy mind,
Still prompting wise advice, restraining still
The flippancy of speech, with antique lore
Well grac'd, nor less with modern wisdom
stor'd;
A mind alike prepared the knotty points
Of human laws, or laws divine, to solve,
The veil of cautious silence to employ,
Or grace with eloquence the cause of truth:
On him, amid the battle's fiercest rage,
Servilius called, and thus his thoughts ex-
press'd.

They say that Lucius Ælius Stilo was accustomed
to assert that Q. Ennius wrote these verses on
himself, and that this was a representation and
description of his own manners and talents.

CHAP. V.

*Discourse of the philosopher Taurus, upon the manner of supporting pain, according to the decrees of the Stoics.*²

WHEN the philosopher went to Delphi to see the Pythian games, and to meet an assembly of almost all Greece, I was one of his attendants, and on the journey we came to Le-

² I have before had occasion to speak of the peculiarities of the Stoic discipline; the more curious reader may compare the contents of this chapter, with Cicero, l. iii. de Finibus, and l. ii. of Tusculan Questions. Zeno, to avoid the peculiarities of Epicurus as far as possible, who made happiness consist in an exemption from fatigue and pain, made his wise man free from all passions of every kind, and capable of happiness in the midst of the severest anguish. What opinion our Milton entertained of all these philosophers, and their different systems, may be collected from the following passage:

Others apart sat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.
Of good and evil much they argued, then
Of happiness, and final misery,
Passion and apathy, and glory and shame,
Vain wisdom all and false philosophy.

VOL. II. Z badia,

badia², an old town in Bœotia. Word was here brought to Taurus, that a friend of his, a man of rank, and a philosopher of the stoic school, was oppressed with a grievous fit of sickness; checking therefore the speed of our journey, which otherwise required dispatch, and leaving the carriage, he proceeded to visit his friend, and I (as it was my custom to go with him everywhere) followed. When we came to the house in which the sick man was, we perceived him lying under great pain and anguish, afflicted with a disorder which the Greeks call colon³; and in a raging fever⁴; his groans, half-stifled, burst from him, and the deep sighs which escaped from his inmost breast⁵, discovered no less the

* *Lebadia.*]—Here was anciently an oracle of Trophonius, which was delivered from some den or cavern. Its modern appellation is Livadia.

* *Colon.*]—The colon, in anatomy, is one of the thick intestines, and it is from this part that the disease called the colic takes its name; and it was probably this which afflicted the poor philosopher, who is here mentioned as struggling betwixt his system, and his feelings of pain.

* *Raging fever.*]—In Gronovius, *febri rabida*; but it may be reasonably doubted, whether Gellius did not write *febri rapida*; which expression occurs in book xviii. chap. 10.—*accidente febri rapida*.

* *Inmost breast.*]—Similar to this is the expression of Virgil:

Ingemuit, deditque has imo pectore voces.

Again,

Suspirans, imoque trahens a pectore vocem.

See also Apuleius, page 5. the edition of Pricæus.

Imo de pectore cruciabilem suspiritum dicens.

pain

pain he suffered, than his struggles to overcome it. When Taurus had sent for his physicians, and conversed with them on the means of cure, and had also encouraged the patient to support his calamity, by mentioning the instances of his fortitude to which he had been witness, we returned to our carriage and companions. " You have seen," says Taurus, " no very pleasant sight indeed, yet one which is not without its use, a philosopher contending with pain. The power and nature of the disorder was what produced his anguish and torture of limbs, while the faculty and powers of his mind, which was equally their property, supported and restrained within bounds, the violence of an agony almost ungovernable. He allowed no loud groans, no complaints, no indecorous words to escape him ; and yet (as you saw) there were manifest proofs of a contest between mind and body for the possession of the man." Then a young man, a disciple of Taurus, not ignorant of philosophy, remarked, that, if such is the bitterness of pain, that it struggles against the will and the judgment, and compels a man involuntarily to utter groans, and to confess the evil of his violent disorder, why is pain among the Stoicks called a thing indifferent, and not an evil? How does it happen that a Stoic can be moved, or that pain can move him ; since the Stoicks affirm, that nothing can move them, and that a wise man is moved by nothing? To this Taurus replied, with a more cheerful countenance

(for he seemed pleased at being allured into the argument) “ If our friend were in better health, he would defend the unavoidable complaints of this kind from calumny, and would, I dare say, resolve your question ; but you know I am no great friend to the Stoics, or rather to their doctrine ; for it often appears contradictory to its own tenets and to ours, as is proved in my treatise on the subject. But as my custom is with you, I will speak unlearnedly (as they call it) and at large, what, if any Stoic were present, I should think it necessary to deliver in a more logical and studied manner. For you know, I suppose, that old and common proverb, “ speak without study⁶, and you make the subject clear.” Then beginning upon the topic of pain, and the groans of the sick Stoic, he thus proceeded : “ Nature (says he) when she produced us, implanted in those first principles with which we were born, a love and affection for ourselves, to such a degree, that nothing is dearer or of greater concern to us than ourselves. And this she considered would be the source of perpetual preser-

* *Without study.*]—This proverbial expression is taken from Suidas, or rather perhaps from the frogs of Aristophanes. The corresponding proverb in Latin is much neater, though with precisely the same meaning, *rudius ac planius*.

The interpretation of Erasmus is far-fetched. It was customary, he observes, for the learned men of old to veil the mysteries of science in dark and ænigmatical expressions. In the passage of Aristophanes referred to above, Bacchus reproaches Euripides with obscurity.

vation to the human race, that every one, as soon as born, should receive a knowledge of those things, which are called by the ancient philosophers, the principles of nature, so that he might delight in the things which are agreeable to his bodily system, and shrink from those which are otherwise. Afterwards, in the growth of age, reason springs from her seeds, with deliberation, the knowledge of justice, and one's real interest, with a wiser and more balanced choice of advantages, while, above all the rest, the dignity of virtue and propriety is so pre-eminent, that every outward object is despised which opposes our possessing and preserving that quality. Nor is any thing esteemed a real good, but what is honourable, nor any thing evil, but what is base. As for all other things of an indifferent nature, which are neither honourable nor disgraceful, they are determined to be neither good nor evil. But things produced from, and bearing a relationship to other things, are distinguished and divided by their own qualities, which the philosophers call⁷ *προηγμενα* and *αποπροηγμενα*. Therefore, pleasure and pain, as far as each relates to the end of living well and happily, are esteemed in-

⁷ *Philosophers call.*]—Primary and secondary causes. See Cicero, lib. iii. de Finibus. Laertius calls these principles *προηγμενα* and *αποπροηγμενα*, that is, proper objects of preference or rejection. See the subjects of the *turpe et honestum*, or vice and virtue, most agreeably discussed in the seventy-fourth epistle of Seneca.

different, and neither good nor evil. But since a man just born is endowed with these first sensations of pain and pleasure; before his knowledge and his reason have appeared, and since he is by his nature attached to pleasure, and averse to pain, as to an enemy, therefore reason, which is given him afterwards, can scarcely pluck from him, or check or extinguish those affections which are born with him, and have taken deep root: yet he contends with them for ever, restrains them when licentious, and compels them³ to submission and obedience. Thence you behold a philosopher, relying on the efficacy of his system, enabled to struggle with the violence of a raging disorder; neither giving way to his complaint, nor expressing his pain, nor (as it frequently happens) groaning and lamenting, with exclamations upon his own misery; but only utter-

³ *Compels them.*]---It was a very different and far superior philosophy which Akenside had in view, when he wrote the following animated lines:

The immortal mind, superior to his fate,
 Amid the outrage of external things,
 Firm as the solid base of this great world,
 Rests on his own foundations. Blow, ye winds;
 Ye waves, ye thunders, roll your tempest on;
 Shake, ye old pillars of the marble sky,
 Till all its orbs, and all its worlds of fire
 Be loosened from their seats, yet still serene
 The unconquer'd mind looks down upon the wreck,
 &c. &c.

ing short breathings, and such deep sighs, as are proofs not of his being overcome and worn out with pain, but of his struggles to oppress and subdue it. But I know not (says he) whether it may not be asked, as to his struggles and groans, that if pain be not an evil, why is it necessary to engage in those struggles, or give vent to those groans? For all things, though not evil in themselves, are however not destitute of inconvenience: but there are many things in themselves great evils, and of private detriment, which are nevertheless not base; yet they are opposite and hostile to the gentleness and lenity of nature, by a certain mysterious but essential consequence of its qualities. These therefore a wise man can patiently endure, though he cannot make them participate the superior qualities of his nature. For what they call apathy is not only in my opinion, but according to many of the most sagacious of that sect, as Panætius, a grave and learned man, disapproved and rejected.

But why is a Stoic philosopher, who they affirm can be compelled to nothing, obliged against his will to utter groans? Surely a wise man cannot be overcome, while he has an opportunity of using his reason. But when nature compels, reason, given by nature, is compelled also. You may ask, if you please, why a man involuntarily winks his eyes, when another suddenly raises his hand before his face? why,

when the sky is illuminated by a flash of light, a man involuntarily holds down his head ? why, amidst loud peals of thunder, does he feel terror ? why does he start, when any one sneezes ? why does he grow hot in the parching of the sun, or cold in severe frosts ? These things, and many others, are neither under the guidance of inclination, wisdom, nor reason, but are the decrees of nature and necessity. But that is not fortitude, which strives against nature, like a prodigy, and steps beyond the usual natural powers, either by an astonishing effort of the mind, or some act of fierceness, or some great and distressing exercise of the faculty in suffering pain ; such as we have heard of in a certain gladiator of Cæsar's, who was accustomed to laugh when his wounds were probed. But that is true and genuine fortitude, which our ancestors called the power of distinguishing things supportable, from those which are insupportable ; by which it appears, that some are intolerable things, from which men of fortitude may shrink, as neither to be engaged with nor supported." When Taurus had said thus much, and seemed about to say yet more, we arrived at our carriages, and pursued our journey.

C H A P. VI.

*What the Greeks call ænigma, the ancient Latins
call scrupos.*

THAT species of composition, which some of our ancient authors called *scrupos*¹, the Greeks call *ænigma*; such as that which we find in three verses of six Iambic feet, of very ancient date, and of great wit. The *ænigma* we leave unexplained, that we may excite the conjectures of readers, in attempting to discover it. The lines are these:

“ *Semel*², *minusne*, *an bis minus sit, non sat*
scio,
 “ *An utrumque horum, ut quondam audivi*
dicier,
 “ *Jovi ipsi regi noluit concedere!*”

He

¹ *Scrupos.*]—This word is as frequently read *scirpos*, which means a rush without a knot—it is also read *scirpus*, which is synonymous with *scirpos*. *Scrupos* is the same with *scrupus*, and signifies a little stone.

² *Semel, &c.*]—Literally thus: I do not well know whether he is once *minus* or twice *minus*, or both these, as I have formerly heard it said, who would not give place to great Jove himself?

Both

346 THE ATTIC NIGHTS

He who is unwilling to puzzle himself about its meaning, will find what it is, by consulting the second book of Marcus Varro upon the Latin language, addressed to Marcellus.

Both these means three times *minus*, that is, in Latin, *Terminus*, the god of boundaries or limits.

The circumstance of his not giving place to Jupiter, is thus introduced by Ovid, *Fasti*, l. ii.

Quid nova cum fierent capitolia, nempe deorum
Cuncta Jovi cessit turba, locumque dedit,
Terminus, ut memorant veteres, inventus in æde
Restitit et magno cum Jove templa tenet.

In honour of this Terminus there were annual feasts at Rome, called *Terminalia*; and the tradition of his not giving way to Jupiter, was understood to imply the perpetuity of the Roman empire.

I remember to have seen some old monkish verses, which had a similiar play upon the word *ter*:

Domini Scropi hac in fossâ
Tandem requiescunt ossa
En, en, en, &c.

Where *en, en, en*, mean *terra*.

CHAP. VII.

Upon what occasion Cnaeus Dolabella¹, the proconsul, referred the trial of a woman accused of having given poison, and confessing the fact, to the court of the Areopagites.

WHEN Cnaeus Dolabella was proconsul in Asia, a woman of Smyrna was brought before him. This woman had destroyed, at the same time, her husband, and her son, by giving them poison; nor did she deny the fact. She alledged as the cause of her having done so, that the husband and son had by some artifice put to death another son of her's by a former husband, an excellent and blameless youth. Nor was the truth of this fact disputed. Dolabella referred the matter to his council. No one in so doubtful a point ventured to give his opinion, because the acknowledgment of the crime, by which her husband and son had been put to death, seemed to require punishment, yet it was justly perpe-

¹ *Cnaeus Dolabella.*]—The same story is told not only in Valerius Maximus, whom indeed Gellius quotes, but in Ammianus Marcellinus, book xxv. chap. 2. The commentators differ about this Dolabella, for though Gellius calls him Cnaeus, he is by Valerius Maximus named Publius. Bayle, at the article Dolabella, enters at some length into this question.

trated upon very wicked men. Dolabella referred the matter to the Areopagites² at Athens, as judges of greater wisdom and experience. The Areopagites being made acquainted with the nature of the cause, summoned the woman and her accuser to appear at the period of an hundred years. By these means, neither was the act of administering poison pardoned, which would have been illegal, nor was the guilty woman condemned and punished, for a crime, which was deemed pardonable. This story is told in the eighth book of Valerius Maximus, on Memorable Sayings and Occurrences,

* *Areopagites.*]—It is unnecessary to detain the reader on this subject of the Areopagites; but by way of reviving it in his recollection, I may be excused adding, that this tribunal was instituted by Cecrops; that it was confirmed in its jurisdiction by Solon; that its decisions were highly revered; and that after it lost its power, it retained its reputation.

A case not very unlike the one introduced in this chapter, is mentioned somewhere in Aristotle. A woman had a faithless lover, and agreeably to the old superstitions concerning the power of magic and incantations, she administered a potion to him, which she presumed would restore him to her affections: unluckily he died in the operation. She was brought before the Areopagites, who being convinced that her intention was certainly not to destroy him, deferred passing any judgment on her crime. The Abbé Barthelemy, in his *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, has collected many interesting particulars concerning the court of Areopagus. The subject also is acutely and agreeably handled by Meursius.

CHAP. VIII.*

Reconciliations between great men, worthy of record.

PUBLIUS AFRICANUS the Elder, and Tiberius Gracchus, the father of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, men illustrious from their

* The fact recorded in the commencement of this chapter is to be found at length in Livy, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus. In Livy, Book xxxviii. c. 57.—in Plutarch, in the lives of the Gracchi—and in Valerius Maximus, book iv. c. 2. and 3.

The latter anecdote also is told by Valerius Maximus, Livy, and Cicero. See Valerius Maximus, book iv. c. 21. Livy, book xl. c. 45, 6. and in Cicero de Provinc. Consul. 9.—Many parallel anecdotes might easily be collected from modern history, and indeed it seems to be one of the characteristics of a great and noble mind, to make all private and personal considerations give way to the public good. Two examples of public reconciliation occur in Shakespeare, one of which excites abhorrence, the other a smile. The first is in Richard the Third, when king Edward obliges the queen's relations, and Hastings, Dorset, &c. to be publicly reconciled, concerning which the king says to the duke of Gloucester,—

Brother, we have done deeds of charity,
Made peace of enmity, fair love of hate,
Between these swelling, wrong incensed peers.

The other is in Henry the Eighth, who is represented as compelling Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and others of his

their exploits, loaded with honours, and distinguished by the purity of their lives, frequently disagreed upon public affairs, and from that or some other reason were not united in friendship. Their secret dislike of each other had long prevailed, till on the usual day the feast of Jupiter was held, upon which occasion the senate banqueted² in the capitol, and it happened that these two men were placed next each other at the same table. When, as if the immortal gods were arbiters in the quarrel, in the feast dedicated to Jupiter, joining their hands, they became immediately allied by the strongest friendship; nor was that all, for alliance by relationship soon took place. Publius Scipio having a daughter that was now marriageable, betrothed her upon that same occasion to Tiberius Gracchus, whom he had chosen and approved at a time when the judgment is most severe, namely, when he was at enmity with him. Æmilius Lepidus also, his privy council, to embrace Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose ruin they had plotted—

Make me no more ado, but all embrace him—
Be friends—for shame, my lords.

There is something extremely ludicrous in the representation of this scene on the stage.

² The senate banqueted.]—The *jus epulandi publice* was peculiar to the senate. This took place on solemn festivals, and the ceremony was called *epulum Jovis*, or *cæna Dia lis*. The senators were dressed on the occasion in their senatorial robes, and the feast was celebrated sometime in the month of November.

and Fulvius Flaccus, two men of illustrious birth, accumulated honours, and exalted stations, were opposed to each other, with bitter hatred, and long indulged enmity. When the people made them censors at the same time, on being nominated by the herald, in the Campus Martius, before the assembly was dispersed, each of them was united in attachment and embraces to the other. And from that day, during their censorships, and afterwards, they lived in the strictest and most friendly intimacy.

C H A P. IX.

Some words are of double meaning, and even the word *honos* was so considered formerly.

ONE may very often see and observe in old writers, many words which have now only one fixed meaning in our usage of them, yet formerly had a sense so indifferent and indeterminate, that they might bear two significations contradictory to each other. Of which some are well known; as "*tempesta* ¹, *valetudo*, *facinus*, *aolus*, *gratia*, *industria*." These words almost every body knows bore a double signification, and were spoken either in a good or bad sense. You will find by many examples, that *periculum* ², *venenum*, and *contagium*, were not used as they are

* *Tempesta*,]—means a good or bad season, *valetudo* good or bad health, *facinus* a good or bad action, *dolus* an act of wisdom or low cunning, *gratia* a good or bad turn, and *industria* with care or with a mischievous intention.

Muretus observes, at p. 83. of his Various Readings, that as the Latins used *honos* in an ambiguous sense, so did the Greeks use *ονειδος* and *κλεος*, and he quotes two passages from Euripides in confirmation of his opinion. The expression of *αισχρος κλεος* occurs in the Helen.

* *Periculum*,]—is used both for hazard and experiment, *venenum* is either poison or simple medicine, *contagium* is either infection or a contact, *a contingendo*.

now, only in a bad sense, and that the word *bonos* also had a middle signification, and was so used that *malus bonos* was the same as *inuria*, though this very seldom occurred. But Quintus Metellus Numidicus, in a speech he delivered upon his triumph, has used these words: “In the same degree as all of you, O Romans, are of more consequence than myself alone, so does he heap greater injury and disgrace upon you, than upon me; and as honest men would rather receive than offer an insult, so has he shewn worse regard towards you than me. He wishes me to bear, and you to offer, an injustice. Thus with one party is left a subject of complaint, with the other disgrace.” This sentence, he has shewn a worse regard towards you than me, is expressed by *pejorem honorem*, and is the same as what he before says, he heaps a greater disgrace upon you, than upon me. Besides this usage of the word, I thought proper to produce the sentiment of Quintus Metellus, that we might determine it to be a decree of Socrates, which says,

Kακίον είναι το ἀδικεῖν το ἀδικεισθαί.

It is worse to be unjust, than to suffer injustice³.

* *Injustice.*]—The sentiment here ascribed to Socrates is taken from the *Gorgias* of Plato.

C H A P. X.

Meaning of the Latin word æditimus'.

ÆDITIMUS is an old Latin word, formed like *finitimus* and *legitimus*. But instead of it the word *ædituus* is now used by many, from a new invented term, as if it were derived (a *tuendis ædibus*) from guarding the temples. This might be sufficient to warn those ignorant and furious disputants, but that they are not to be restrained without authority. Marcus Varro, in his second book addressed to Marcellus upon the Latin language, thinks we ought rather to use *æditimus* than *ædituus*, because the latter is fabricated by late invention, the former pure from its ancient original. Lævius² also, I think, in his *Protefilaodamia*, has used the word *claustritus*, one who guards the gates, a word formed by the same process as *æditimus*, one who guards the temples. In the most correct copies of Tully's speech against Verres, I find it written “ *æditimi custodesque mature sentiunt*,” while in

* *Æditimus.*]—Consult Varro and P. Festus concerning this word; some explain it, and I think not impertinently *ædis intimus*.

* *Lævius.*]—Some editions read Lævius, some Nævius, and others Livius.

the common books it is written *æditui*. There is a dramatic story of Pomponius's, called *Æditimus*, in which this line appears,

Qui postquam tibi appareo atque *æditimos*³
in templo tuo.

And Titus Lucretius⁴, in his poem, instead of *ædituos*, calls the guards of the temple *ædituentes*.

³ *Æditimos in templo tuo.*]—We have an expression in our version of the Psalms corresponding with this, and which may be offered properly enough as a translation of it: “I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God.”

⁴ *Lucretius.*]—See Book vi. ver. 1271.

Onerataque pasim
Cuncta cadaveribus cælestum templa maneabant;
Hospitibus loca quæ complerant *ædituentes*.

I do not think that Creech has given the full force of this passage: he renders it thus,—

Death now had filled the temples of the gods;
The priests themselves, not beasts, are the altar's load.

CHAP. XI.

They are mistaken who commit sins with the hope of remaining concealed, since there is no perpetual biding-place for sin.—The words of the philosopher Peregrinus upon that subject, from a sentiment of the poet Sophocles.

I SAW, when I was at Athens, a philosopher named Peregrinus¹, and surnamed afterwards Proteus, a man of dignity and fortitude, who resided in a little cottage without the city. As I used to go to him frequently, I heard from him many useful and excellent remarks, among which this is what I chiefly remember: He said, “that a wise man would not be guilty of sin, although gods and men were alike ignorant of it².”

For

¹ The life of this Peregrinus is given by Lucian, and indeed a more extraordinary character never appeared on the world’s great theatre. See what I have said concerning him at chap. 3. book viii.

² *Ignorant of it.* — This accords with what is expressed in the lines—

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore;
Oderunt peccare mali formidine pœnæ.

It is surely a noble and charming sentiment, though, as Gelius on a former occasion has observed, it comes from an unworthy

For he thought a wise man should avoid sin, not from the fear of punishment or disgrace, but from his sense of duty, and love of virtue. But of those who were not of such a disposition, or so taught, that they could easily restrain themselves from sin, by their own power and will, he thought they would be more readily induced to sin, when they expected their guilt would be concealed, and that such concealment would produce impunity. "But," says he, "if men know that nothing can be long concealed, they will sin in a more guarded and secret manner. Wherefore,"

unworthy mouth. The idea of man being produced for the purpose of leading a life of wisdom and virtue, in noble disdain of sensual gratifications, is thus exquisitely represented by Akenside,—

Say, why was man so eminently rais'd
 Amid the vast creation; why ordain'd
 Thro' life and death to dart his piercing eye
 With thoughts beyond the limit of his frame,
 But that the omnipotent might send him forth,
 In sight of mortal and immortal powers,
 As on a boundless theatre, to run
 The great career of justice; to exalt
 His generous aim to all diviner deeds;
 To chase each partial purpose from his breast;
 And thro' the mists of passion and of sense,
 And thro' the tossing tide of chance and pain,
 To hold his course unfaltring, while the voice
 Of truth and virtue, up the steep ascent
 Of nature, calls him to his high reward,
 The applauding smile of heaven.

he added, “ those lines of Sophocles, the wisest of poets, were worthy to be remembered—

Nor vainly think your skill can ought conceal,

Time, that knows all things, shall all truths reveal.”

Another of the old poets, whose name I do not now recollect, has called Truth³ the daughter of Time.

* *Truth, &c.*]—The Platonists considered truth as no less essential to the happiness of man in a more elevated state of being, than virtue. Indeed it cannot be very easy to consider them as detached from each other. The same philosophers, in a very beautiful allegory, called Truth the body of the supreme being, and Light his shadow. There is a fine paper in the Rambler, describing the qualities and influence of Truth, Falshood, and Fiction, where the moralist represents Truth to be the daughter of Jupiter and Wisdom.

C H A P. XII.

The witty reply of Cicero, excusing himself from the charge of a manifest falsehood.¹

THIS too is one of the arts of rhetoric, that upon an attack it enables a man, with wit, to acknowledge the truth of an accusation in such a manner as to escape, by some jocular reply, the turpitude of that which cannot be denied, and to make the deed appear worthy rather of laughter than of serious censure. This, we are told, Cicero did, when, by an elegant and facetious turn, he did away that which he could not deny. He wanted to purchase a house upon the Palatine Mount, but had not the money; he received privately from Publius Sylla, who was then under a public accusation², twenty thousand festerces. Before he made his purchase, this circumstance became known to the public, and he was accused of having received money, for the purpose of buying the house, from an accused man. Cicero, sur-

¹ Macrobius has given a collection of the jests of Cicero, which it is my intention to insert in a future work.

² *Under accusation.*]—Sylla was accused by L. Torquatus of being concerned in the Catilinarian conspiracy. The oration which Cicero made in his defence yet remains.

prized by the sudden reproach, denied the receipt of it, and professed that he had no intention of making the purchase. "Therefore," says he, "let it be considered as a truth if I buy the house." Afterwards, however, when he *did* buy it, and this falsehood was objected to him in the senate by his opponents, he laughed heartily, and in the midst of his doing so, "Why," says he, "you are destitute of common sense³, if you do not know that it is the part of a cautious and prudent master of a family to deny his intention of making any purchase, that he may prevent competitors in the sale."

³ *Common sense.*]—In Gronovius it is *ακοινωνητοι*, without common sense; but it is read in various editions *ανοικουμητοι*, which means *in communes*. See also H. Stephens at this passage—he would prefer *ανοικουμητοι*, that is, ignorant of things relating to domestic matters, or of œconomy, in its literal acceptation. This is plausible and ingenious.

C H A P. XIII.

The meaning of the phrase “intra calendas,” whether it signifies before the calends, or upon the calends, or both.—The meaning of the phrase “intra oceanum,” and “intra montem Taurum,” in the speech of Marcus Tullius, and the usage of “intra modum,” in a certain epistle.

B EING appointed by the consuls a judge extraordinary² at Rome, when I was to give judgment within the calends, I enquired of Apollinaris

* This is a very intricate and perplexing chapter; and I do not know that in my progress through Gellius I have met with any thing less easy to render in intelligible English. After all that I have done, many of my readers would perhaps have commended me, if I had followed the example of the French translator, and omitted it altogether; but this would have been inconsistent with my plan and determination, to insert every thing contained in my original. To say that the calends in the Roman chronology were the first day of the month, and that they were reckoned backwards, so that, for example, the last day of May was the second of the calends of June, seems almost superfluous.

The matter which Gellius wished to have defined was, whether his duty allowed him to pass judgment on the day of the calends only, or whether he was allowed the latitude of doing so before the actual day of the calends.

* *Judge extraordinary.*]—The circumstance which Gellius here relates of himself is highly to his honour, as the Romans were

linaris Sulpitius, a man of learning, whether in the phrase *intra calendas* (within the calends), the calends themselves were included? I stated to him, that I was appointed judge, that the calends was the limit, and that I was to pass judgment *intra eum diem*. "Why," says he, "do you enquire this of me, rather than of those learned and studious men³, whose assistance you usually rely upon in matters of law?" To this I replied, "If I wanted information upon any matter of right established or received, contested or ambiguous, new or ratified, I should know that I must apply to those whom you mention. But when the meaning, application, and reason of any Latin terms are to be examined, I should be foolish⁴ and blind indeed, if, having an opportunity

were remarkably tenacious of the character and talents of those whom they appointed to situations so delicate and arduous. They were obliged to be of a certain age, and they could not enjoy this situation if they had been expelled the senate. The oath taken by each judge was, that he would decide according to his conscience and the law. It should seem by this and other similar passages, that in any extraordinary cases assistant judges were appointed.

• *Men.*]—The commentators are greatly at variance at this passage, some contending that it should be read *peritis studiosisque viris*, others that it must be *peritis studiosisque juris*. Fortunately the nature of the English idiom has enabled me to render it in a manner which gives the force of both expressions.

• *Foolish.*]—The original is a very unusual word, *scævus*, for which some would read *levus*, as in Virgil, *si mens non*

leva

opportunity of consulting you, I should go to any other." "Hear then," says he, "my opinion of the word, but so that you may be impressed, not from my observation on its nature and meaning, but from what you have known and remarked to be its common acceptation. For not only the true and proper significations of common words are changed by long usage, but even the decrees of the laws themselves become, by silent consent, obsolete." He then spoke upon the subject in my hearing, and that of many others, nearly in this manner, "When the day," says he, "is so fixed, that the judge gives sentence (*intra calendas*) within the calends, it occurs immediately to every one, that there is no doubt but, properly speaking, it should be (*ante calendas*) before the calends. It is only doubtful, whether the word calends, which you enquire about, be properly used. Now, without doubt, the word is so constituted, and has such a signification, that when the phrase *intra calendas* is used, it ought to be understood only as meaning the calends, and including no other day. For these three words, *intra*, *citra*, and *ultra*, by which certain boundaries of places are signified, by the ancients were contracted into single syllables, as *in*, *cis*, *uls*. Since these

lava fuisse. *Scævus* comes from the Greek word *oxaioς*, which, as Turnebus observes, the Latins have borrowed, and made their own, interpositi digamma, by the interposition of the digamma. See his *Adversaria*, L. 30. p. 691.

particles were expressed rather obscurely, from the brevity and tenuity of their sound, to each of them was added the same syllable, and that which was called *cis Tiberim*⁵, and *uls Tiberim*, began to be called *citra Tiberim*, and *ultra Tiberim*, and that which before was called *in*, by the addition of the same syllable, became *intra*. For he who says *intra oppidum*, *intra cubiculum*, *intra ferias* (within the town, &c.), means no more than *in oppido*, *in cubiculo*, *in feriis*. *Intra calendas* (within the calends) therefore does not mean *before* the calends, but *upon* the calends, that is, on the very day upon which the calends fall. So according to the meaning of the word itself, he who was ordered to pronounce any thing *intra calendas*, unless he were to do it on the calends, would not perform what his duty required. If he pronounces before, he cannot be said to do it *intra* but *citra*. But I know not from what cause it is that the common absurd acceptation of the phrase should prevail by which *intra calendas* (within the calends) seems to signify, either within the calends, or before the calends, which is exactly the same. It is moreover doubted, whether it could be done *ante calendas*, whereas it should neither be beyond nor within, but what is betwixt both, *intra*, that is, on the calends. But custom has got the better, which, as it governs every

⁵ *Cis Tiberim.*]—Thus also it was a common mode of expression at Rome to say, *cis Alpes*, and *trans Alpes*, for this side the Alps, and beyond them.

thing, has a particular influence on words⁶." When Apollinaris had thus learnedly and perspicuously handled the argument, I made this reply, " I had intended, before I applied to you, diligently to enquire in what manner our ancestors applied the particle in question. I find that Cicero, in his third oration⁷ against Verres, wrote thus: ' There is no place (*intra oceanum*) on this side the ocean, nor indeed so remote or inaccessible, where, in these times, the injustice and licentiousness of our countrymen, has not reached.' He says *intra oceanum*, contrary to your mode of reasoning. He would not, I think, say, *in*

* *Influence on words.*]—The following extract from the preface of Mr. Nares to his *Essay on Orthoepy* seems pertinent in this place.

" The arbitrary caprice of fashion, and the spirit of improvement misdirected, are daily making changes in the structure and sound of language, which, though separately inconsiderable, are, after some time, important in the total amount: and as the celestial signs had nearly changed their places before the slow but constant motion of the equinoxes was detected, so a language may have departed considerably from the fixed point of purity, and the harmony of its construction may be materially injured, before those minute changes, which affect only single words or syllables, shall have attracted the public observation."

* *Third oration.*]—It is in the 89th chapter or division. The insertion of the paragraph preceding may make the present quotation more perspicuous.

" All our provinces mourn and complain, every free nation remonstrates against us, every kingdom of the globe exclaims against our avarice and injustice. There is no place, &c."

oceano. He speaks of all the regions which the ocean surrounds, and which our countrymen were able to approach, which cannot be interpreted by *in oceano*, though it may by *citra oceanum*. For he cannot be supposed to speak of I know not what islands, which may be said to be *in* the waters of the ocean." Then Sulpicius Apollinaris smilingly replied, " You have objected from Cicero with sufficient acuteness; but Cicero has said *intra*, and not as you interpret, *citra oceanum*. For what can be denominated *citra oceanum* (on this side of the ocean), when the ocean circumscribes and surrounds all regions⁸? For that which is *citra* is *extra*, but how can *extra* be applied to that which is *intra*? But if the ocean were in one part of the earth alone, the land towards that part might be called *citra*, or *ante*, *oceanum*. But as the ocean surrounds the earth on every part, nothing is *citra*, on this side of it; for the earth in every limit being walled in by its waters, every thing included in its margin is within it. Thus the sun moves not *citra cælum*⁹, but *in cælo*, and *intra*

⁸ Perhaps better in English; " For that which is on this side a thing is without its limits, and how can that be without which is within?"

• *Citra cælum.*]—That is, not on this side of the region of the sky, but in or within it. The expression is *vertitur*, which may be understood of the revolution of the sun round its axis, though it is not probable that Cicero understood enough of the motion of the heavenly bodies so to apply it. Indeed, the philosophy of his time acknowledged none but the system which made the earth the fixed centre, round which the other planets moved in certain orbits.

caelum, not on this side of the sky but within it.” Thus far Apollinaris seemed to reason with learning and acuteness. But afterwards, in the letters of Tully to Servius Sulpicius, I found *intra* applied to *modum*, as they say *intra calendas*, who mean to say *citra calendas*. These are the words of Cicero ¹⁰, which I have added: “But yet, as I avoided giving him offence, who perhaps would have thought that if I had been perpetually silent, I should seem to think that ours was not a republic, that I may satisfy both his will and my own feelings, I shall do this not only moderately, but *intra modum*.” He had first said *modice*, which means with an equable and temperate spirit, when, as if this expression displeased him, and as willing to correct it, he added, or even *intra modum*. By which he signified, that he would do this less than he might have done even to have been thought moderate. That is, not all that moderation required, but a little on this side of it, or as it were, *citra modum*. In the oration which he

¹⁰ Cicero.]—The passage occurs in the fourth book of Cicero’s Familiar Letters, and in the fourth letter. The question was, whether, on some occasion or other, the senators should publicly thank Cæsar, which some individuals at first, and Cicero for a time, refused to do. It seems from this quotation, and indeed from many places in the writers of that time, that it was customary for the senators to take opportunity of publicly thanking Cæsar for his moderation, clemency, magnanimity; this, however, says Cicero, “I shall do not only moderately, but even less than moderately, that is, very sparingly indeed.”

made for P. Sestius¹¹, he says *intra montem Taurum*, that is, not on Mount Taurus, but as far as Mount Taurus, comprehending the mount itself also. These are his words, from the oration just quoted:

“ Our ancestors obliged Antiochus the Great, whom in continued hostilities they overcame both by sea and land, to confine his dominions *intra montem Taurum*. They took Asia from him, and assigned it to Attalus for his empire.”

They ordered him to confine his dominions *intra montem Taurum*, which does not mean, as we should say, *intra cubiculum*, unless the term *intra montem* could be understood to apply to the countries which Mount Taurus by its position separates. For as he who is *intra cubiculum* (in the chamber) is not in the walls of the chamber, but within the walls which inclose the chamber, so he who reigns within Mount Taurus reigns not only on Mount Taurus, but over those countries also of which Mount Taurus is the limit. According, therefore, to the analogy to be drawn from the words of Cicero, he who is directed to judge any thing *intra calendas*, may legally and properly do so both before the calends, and on the calends; nor is this by a certain privilege, as it were, of inveterate custom, but by the rule of right reason, because the

¹¹ *Sestius*,]—or Publius Sextius. The place here quoted is in the 27th division of the oration. *Intra montem Taurum* doubtless means the countries in the vicinity of Mount Taurus.

period of time which is included in the day of the calends may properly be termed *intra calendas* (within the calends).

C H A P. XIV.

Force and origin of the particle saltem¹.

WE were enquiring about the particle *saltem*, what was its original signification, and whence it was derived. It seems to have been

¹ *Saltem* is anciently written *saltim*; Heyne, however, who usually prefers the old method of writing Latin, has, in his edition of Virgil, used *saltem*. See *Æneid* iv. ver. 327.

*Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
Ante fugam soboles.*

See *saltem* used in a similar sense by Terence, *Andria*, act ii. scene 2. “ *Saltem accurato.*” So also *Adelphi*, act ii. scene 2. “ *Saltem quanti empta est, Syre.*” Donatus seems to incline to this abbreviation of *saltem* from *salutem*, which he denominates *τὸν εὐχατόν*, or the last thing, namely, life, which a captive entreats from his conqueror.

The curious reader may also see what Janus Gulielmius says on this subject, in his first book *de Verisimilibus*. This critic observes, that the best of the ancient writers used *saltim*, which he thinks may be derived from the supine *saltu*, as *raptim* from *raptu*, *fontSize* from *fontSize*, *curfim* from *curfu*, &c.

been first formed, not like some of those expletives of speech which are assumed without any definite meaning, or attention to regularity. There was one present who said he had read in the Grammatical Commentaries of Publius Nigidius, that *saltem* was formed from the phrase “*si aliter*,” which phrase was elliptical, *si aliter non potest* forming the perfect sentence. But I never met with this in the Commentaries of Nigidius, a book which I think I have read with some attention. However, these words (*si aliter non potest*) do not seem to be far distant² from the meaning of the word concerning which we are enquiring; but to include so many words in so very few letters, seems too minute and subtle a contrivance. There was also another man, well versed in books and learning, who said, that *sal-*

He observes, that Priscian, enumerating the adverbs terminating in *em*, makes no mention of *saltem*. Priscian subjoins this remark:

“ In *im* et *denominativa* inveniuntur, et *verbalia*, et *participialia*; ut a parte partim, a viro viritim, a vice vicissim, a statu statim, a raptu raptim, a saltu saltim et saltuatim.”

² *Far distant.*] — *Aberrare*. A learned and ingenious critic, in the fourth volume of *Miscellaneous Observations on Authors Ancient and Modern*, proposes to read *abborres*, which reading, he observes, has the authority of some manuscripts. Gellius often uses *abborret* in this sense. See l. x. c. 4.

“ Quorum verborum significatio a sententia Sallustii non abborret.” See also l. xvii. c. 13. “ Motus oculorum a natura rei quam significat non abborret.”

tem seemed to him formed by the omission of the letter *u* in the middle, and that *salutem* was formerly spoken where we now say *saltem*. “For,” says he, “when we have been requesting many things in vain, then we are accustomed, as if making our last petition, which cannot be denied, to say, this (*saltem*) at least ought to be done, or to be granted; as if at last asking a favour which it is very reasonable both to require and to grant.” But this, although ingenious and pleasant enough, seems too far-fetched; I therefore thought it a subject worthy of further investigation.

C H A P. XV.

That Sisenna, in his *Historical Records*, has frequently used such adverbs as *celatim*, *velitatim*, *saltuatim*.

HAVING often read Sisenna’s history, I observed in his composition the frequent occurrence of such adverbs as these, namely, *cursim*¹, *properatim*, *celatim*, *velitatim*, *saltuatim*, the

¹ *Cursim.*—*Cursim* may be rendered in a cursory manner, *properatim* in a hasty manner, *celatim* in a private manner, *velitatim* in a skirmishing manner, *saltuatim* in a desultory manner.

Quintus Carolus enumerates many other adverbs in *inx*, such as *examissim*, *unciatim*, *alternatim*, &c.

two first of which, being more common, do not require to be illustrated by examples ; the others are thus introduced in the sixth book of his history : “ He placed his men in ambuscade, (quam maxime *celatim* poterat) in as secret a manner as he could.” So in another place, “ Having passed one summer in Asia and Greece, in pursuit of literature, I wrote my history in a regular style, lest by expressing myself in a skirmishing² or defultory manner I should burthen the minds of my readers.”

² *Skirmishing.*]—Vellicatim et fastuatim.



